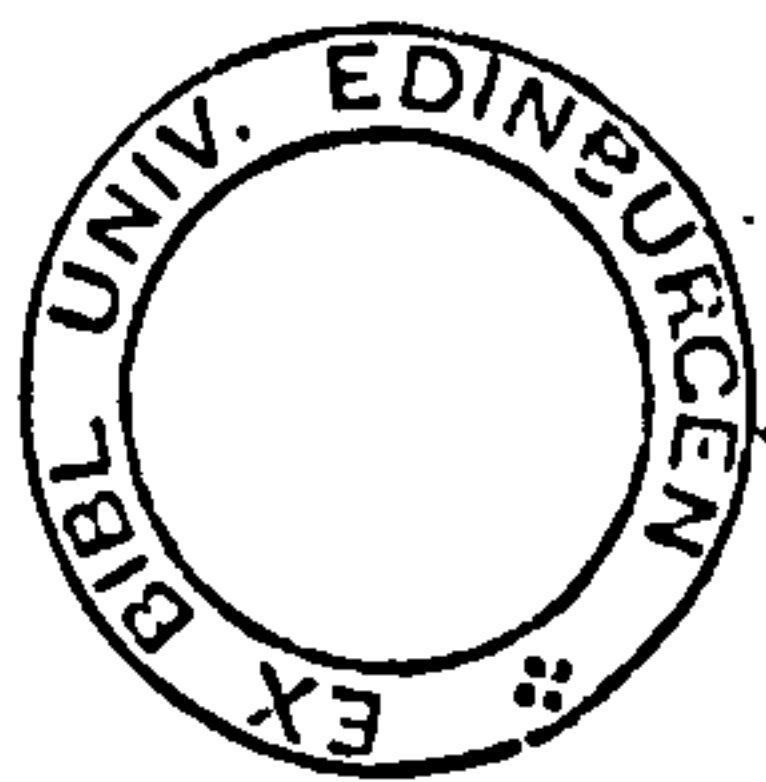


A HISTORY OF DEAF EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND,  
1760 - 1939

BY

THOMAS J. WATSON M.A.

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## P R E F A C E.

The aim of the present work is to give an account of the education of deaf children in Scotland from the opening of the first school until the outbreak of war in 1939. The work has been brought up to date by the inclusion of a Chapter outlining subsequent developments. No previous investigation into this subject has been made and, as primary sources of information are fast disappearing, and are even now far from complete, it was felt that the development of this special branch of education should be recorded without delay.

An attempt has been made to keep the work as objective as possible, giving explanations where these are required, but refraining, except in the last chapter, from giving opinions on controversial issues. Of course, the bias of the author towards oralism will probably be apparent, but for this no apology is made.

It should be pointed out that the scope of the history has been confined to the education of children who were deaf. No attempt has been made to include work with blind-deaf children, nor the educational work carried on in connection with the adult deaf. Although the work of private schools has been considered in the earlier periods, at a time when their influence was great, it has been ignored when their existence ceased to contribute in any measurable degree to the general development of the education of the deaf.

The author desires to acknowledge the kindness and assistance of the following Heads of Schools, Directors of Education, and others, who have so generously allowed him access to books and documents in their possession and have patiently answered his numerous enquiries:

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## CHAPTER 1.

### Education of the Deaf before 1760.

The year 1760 has been chosen to open this account of deaf education in Scotland, for it was in that year that Thomas Braidwood opened his school in Edinburgh. Although in England and elsewhere, prior to that date, several deaf mutes had been educated and taught to speak, yet this was the first institution in Great Britain where instruction was given over a period of years and to a regular turn-over of pupils. Not only, therefore, does the opening of this school mark the beginning of deaf education in Scotland, but it is a landmark in the history of that practice.

Before we consider Braidwood and his school, it would be well to ascertain the current theory and practice in the education of the deaf, partly as a general background to our study, and partly as an indication of how far the methods adopted by Braidwood were influenced by it.

Although deaf-mutes as a class were treated sympathetically by the Jews and the Romans, (indeed the latter divided them into five categories according to their degree of deafness or mutism, and legislated for them accordingly)<sup>1</sup> yet no attempt was made to educate them, for they were classed with imbeciles as ineducable. The first recorded attempt to educate a deaf-mute is that attributed to St. John of Beverley about the year 685. An account of it is given by Bede,<sup>2</sup> who is inclined to view the matter as more of a miracle than a natural product of education, but, on the other hand, there is no reason why the founder of Beverley Minster should not in fact have succeeded in doing what thousands after him have done. Eight centuries passed before another writer, Rudolph Agricola, was able

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1. For an account of the early educators see Arnold "The Education of Deaf Mutes" (1888).

2. Hist.Eccl. lib.V , c.ii.



to report a similar instance, although in this case the teacher remains unknown. It is to Spain, however, that we must attribute the first authenticated successes in teaching the deaf.

Pedro Ponce de Leon about 1575, and Bonet fifty years later, taught several deaf persons by writing and speech. The latter, indeed, insisted on the pupil learning a manual alphabet before attempting to speak; but both teachers had many undoubted and confirmed successes. Furthermore, they realised that the cause of mutism was deafness and that the vocal organs were not in any way affected by the latter. On this foundation they built their attempts at speech teaching, having first of all analysed the positions and movements of the speech organs necessary for articulation.

We may therefore say that by the early 17th Century the prejudice that the deaf and dumb were incapable of instruction had been dispelled, and throughout the remainder of the century there are many examples recorded of their successful instruction.

In Britain, the honour of being the first to write on the subject goes to John Bulwer who in 1648 published "Philocophus" or "The Deaf and Dumb Man's Friend". In this, he dealt with the principles of teaching speech and language to the deaf, and at the same time commented upon the work of Bonet in Spain. He advocated that gesture be used for purposes of instruction, and, perhaps of more importance, the great need for sympathy for the pupil on the part of the teacher. But a greater name is that of John Wallis who, in 1653, published his "Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae". In a chapter in this work headed "De Loquela", he dealt with the elements of speech and the speech organs, and then proceeded to analyse all the different sounds in the English Language. He classified vowels according to their position and method of articulation, and noted



that the slightest alteration in the position or shape of the organs altered the vowel tone. Consonants were divided by Wallis into two classes - open and closed; whilst the articulation of both semi-vowels and affricates was fairly accurately described. In the years 1660-1 he taught two deaf-mutes to speak - Daniel Whaley and Alexander Popham, and afterwards did some work in speech-therapy in the cure of stammering and other speech impediments. Wallis's real interests, therefore, at this time were the teaching of speech and the cure of speech disorders, and not the education of the deaf. But we find that during the course of the next thirty years his interests widened, and in 1698 he gives an account of how to instruct the deaf and dumb in language.<sup>1</sup> This, he stated, is best done by teaching deaf persons to write so that they can have a visual impression of what they say. The next stage is the teaching of a manual alphabet, and after this has been mastered, language should be taught in the same way as hearing children learn a language, except that, instead of learning sounds by ear, they learn the shape of these sounds by the eye. First of all, names of things should be taught, with their proper subdivisions and relationships, e.g. mankind, parts of the body, beasts, birds, &c; then the singular and plural numbers and their formation, followed by possessive pronouns, pronouns, and adjectives. This is followed by verbs and sentences. This method of instruction, says Dr. Wallis, will lay good foundations "for the greatest degree of education, either in matters of religion, or in other parts of learning, which can possibly be obtained by reading".<sup>2</sup>

But Wallis, important as he was, as we shall see, as a result of the influence which his work had on his successors, was

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1. Letter to Thomas Beverly of Oxford, Sept 30th, 1698.

2. *ibid* p. 280. Quoted in Green: "Vox Oculis Subiecta", p.113.



neither so original nor so sure a guide as he would have us believe. His originality in the teaching of speech can only be vindicated by ignorance of what had previously been done. As has already been noted, the work of Ponce and Bonet in this direction was equally able and successful, and, although it is not certain how much Wallis knew of the latter's work, he had undoubtedly heard of the results. When we come to his treatment of the development of language, there is a notable change in his work between 1661 and 1698. He had not done any teaching that has been recorded during that period, and yet he produced a plan for language teaching which was sound and practicable. And for this, I venture to suggest, he is indebted to George Dalgarno, to whom nowhere in his work does he make reference, although it is quite certain that he knew of both the man and his work.<sup>1</sup>

Of George Dalgarno the man, little is now known except for a notice by Anthony a Wood.<sup>2</sup> From this we learn that Dalgarno was born at Old Aberdeen somewhere about the year 1625. In 1657 he moved to Oxford where he taught in a private grammar school till his death in 1687. His published works were two in number - the "Ars Signorum" in 1661., and "Didascalocophus, or the Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor" in 1680. Dalgarno appears to have been a considerable scholar, very much interested in languages and the philosophy of language. His first work "Ars Signorum", is his contribution to the seventeenth century philosopher's dream of a universal language. It was a better attempt than most, and was developed by the celebrated Bishop Wilkins in his "Essay towards a Real Character".

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1. For a further discussion of this matter, see below p.8

2. Athenae Oxon. Vol.II p. 506.

Wilkins, like others after him, paid no tribute to Dalgarno's work and may be justly accused of a wholesale plundering of the Scotsman's ideas. However, we are not concerned here with this aspect of Dalgarno's work, except in so far as it illustrates the stature of the man and the fact that his work seems to have been the source from which some of his contemporaries drew unacknowledged inspiration.

The "Didascalocophus", on the other hand, is a major contribution to the theory of deaf education. Starting by comparing the capacities of the deaf with those of the blind, Dalgarno goes on to state the general principles underlying the education of the deaf. These are based on the theories of Locke, first of all that the mind is a "tabula rasa" upon which the educator makes what impressions he will, and, secondly, that the images on this "tabula" are stamped through life by sense perceptions. It is true that philosophy has discarded these outworn notions, but Dalgarno can scarcely be criticised for basing his reasoning on the accepted doctrines of the time.

How, then, do these sense perceptions work with regard to the deaf? All signs are equally arbitrary whether vocal or written, he suggests, and there is therefore no reason why the mind should not apprehend images from the one source or the other equally well. The ear has advantages, particularly of time and greater speed, but the eye may acquire these by training. In fact, Dalgarno says, "There might be successful addresses made to a dumb child even in his cradle, when he begins -risu cognoscere matrem, if the mother or nurse had but as nimble a hand as commonly they have a tongue".<sup>1</sup>

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1. G. Dalgarno: "Didascalocophus" Reprinted for the Maitland Club p. 121.



After due consideration he decides to dispense with speech teaching and considers instead whether writing or finger-spelling ("typology or dactylology") would be best for a young child, deciding in favour of the latter owing to the ease with which it can be learned. He agrees that the deaf may be taught to speak fairly readily but shrewdly notes that tone, accent, and emphasis, without which speech loses its intelligibility, are very difficult to teach. Furthermore, though lipreading is possible, yet all the sounds cannot be perceived by the eye. Here, as will be seen, Dalgarno is tackling fundamentals that even today can scarcely be said to be agreed upon by all teachers of the deaf. What is so striking about this discussion is, that, working from a priori principles, Dalgarno, by his native shrewdness, put his finger on many of the errors of his predecessors and laid down general principles.

Having thus established his methods, Dalgarno then goes on to give the content of this instruction. He thinks it unnecessary to lay down a system of grammatical rules, but contents himself with some general directions. Diligence on the part of the scholar is the first requisite, and nursery methods of instruction should be used - "Let utile and jucundum, variety and necessity, invite and spur him on, specially if he be young or of a lache temper".<sup>1</sup>

The letters must be learned first - written or printed, then upon the fingers, and then written by the pupil.

Begin with names of things best known: elements, minerals, plants, animals, utensils, garments, &c., then relatives, and offices or professions. These should be compiled into a dictionary which can be sorted in three ways - alphabetically, following the order of double consonants, and reducing it to heads and classes. After the

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1. *ibid* p. 140.



pupil has mastered this stock of names, then adjectives, followed by verbs, may be taught. But there must be no strict grammatical rules in this teaching - in fact sentences may be taught quite early just as easily as words e.g. "Whose hat is this?", "Who gave you this?", "Rise up", "Shut the door" &c. The following grammatical rules are all that are required in the early stages: plurals; comparative and superlative degree; participle ending in "-ing;" adverbs of manner ending in "-ly"; and the abstract ending "-ness".

For exercises he suggests that as great variety as possible should be found; describing things from their causes and from their opposites; writing epistles; exercising the memory with lectiones sacrae and such profane works as Aesop's fables, and plays with plenty of action.

Finally, Dalgarno deals with the necessity of what he calls a "hand-language". He has tried out various methods but does not think his final version can be improved upon. In this, the vowels are indicated on the tips of the fingers of the left hand, and the consonants on the joints of the fingers and positions on the palm of the left hand. The vowels are spelled by touching the appropriate place with any finger of the right hand, and the consonants by using the thumb of the right hand. He also noted that this alphabet could probably be used with one hand. He rejected the method of forming the letters symbolically because all the letters could not be so formed and because it was too laborious.

The importance of Dalgarno's work is thus very evident. From a purely historical point of view it is important in as much as it is the first work of a Scotsman to deal with the education of the deaf. (Albeit he wrote it in England ! ) It has also an



intrinsic value having regard to the methods laid down by Dalgarno - the need for an early start and nursery methods, the appeal to variety in the training, the order in which language should be taught, and the use of a manual alphabet. Finally, it is important in so far as it was the model on which later work was based.<sup>1</sup>

It is fairly certain that after the end of the century his work lapsed into oblivion from which it was not rescued until Professor Dugald Stewart drew attention to it about 1815. On the other hand, it is clear from a comparison of the two works that Wallis's account of the methods to be adopted in educating the deaf, as set forth in his "Letter to Thomas Beverly" in 1698, follow very closely those laid down by Dalgarno. That Wallis knew of Dalgarno is not in doubt, for the latter, in his introduction to "Didascalocophus" mentions that he has had "the testimony of the learned men of this age"<sup>2</sup> in

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1. In a speech which he made on October 9th 1883, Alexander Graham Bell said that he "decided to adopt a method that was nowhere in use; that was the method proposed by George Dalgarno two hundred years ago. I adopted his plan of teaching a deaf child to read and write in a natural way just as we teach hearing children to speak their mother tongue.....As George Dalgarno predicted, the child came to understand the writing, just as a hearing child comes to understand spoken words."

Quoted in Fay: "Histories of American Schools for the Deaf"  
Vol 2 p.3.

The latest protagonist Dr. Harris Taylor of America recommended in 1937 that the silent reading method of approach should be used to teach young deaf children, and he specifically mentions it as having originated with Delgarno. He goes on to recommend the teaching of lip-reading and speech at a later stage.

V. "Amer-Annals" Vol.82 (1937) p.207.

2. op.cit. p.16.



respect of his previous "Ars Signorum", and these learned men included Dr. Seth Ward. Dr. John Wilkins, Dr. John Wallis, and Dr. William Dillingham. It would thus seem that Wallis knew the "Didascalocophus" and borrowed freely from the ideas expressed there for his subsequent teaching on the education of the deaf. Wallis was indicated by later writers and practitioners as the source of their ideas on the subject, but in point of fact it was Dalgarno who was their true originator. When, later, we see the influence which Wallis had on education in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, it will then be clear that not he but Dalgarno was the father of deaf education in Great Britain.

During the first half of the 18th century in Britain, little, if any progress was made in the education of the deaf. The only name which has come down to us in this connection is that of Henry Baker, who, in London between 1725 and 1770, taught a few pupils by methods which appear to be culled from Wallis. Baker, who was a son-in-law of Daniel Defoe, was extremely secretive about his methods, although apparently a very competent teacher. He taught several pupils, mainly from the nobility, from time to time, and had what practically amounted to a private school, but it is Braidwood rather than Baker who must receive the credit for establishing the first school, for the former did really give a continuous course of instruction to as many pupils as could be adequately dealt with at one time, to whoever came to him for that instruction.

At this time, too, in France, Pereira and De L'Epee were beginning their work, but, however important it was, it is unnecessary to deal with it at this juncture, as there had not been time for its influence to spread across the channel during the

period that Braidwood was teaching in Scotland. In fact, it is pretty certain that the work of the latter was not in any way influenced by the work of the Frenchmen.

We have now reached the stage at which our investigation of deaf education in Scotland should properly begin. It will be seen that a considerable amount of groundwork had already been done in many countries of Europe. Speech sounds had been analysed and a method of teaching articulation to those born deaf had been worked out. The development of language, and the application of this study to deaf teaching were known to those practising that art. In fact, the situation reached by the middle of the eighteenth century was that individual deaf mutes had been successfully educated, but that no school, in the proper sense of the term, had yet been set up to deal with those so handicapped on a more permanent basis.

Different methods had been tried and the general opinion was that a combined method of writing, finger-spelling, and speech, was the most successful. This was the heritage of Thomas Braidwood, and, probably more by accident than by design, he achieved the next logical step, which was the founding of a school in which, by means of the methods already outlined, deaf and dumb children, as a class, could be educated up to a tolerable standard. That this should begin in the Edinburgh of 1760 is scarcely suprising, for the capital was seething with an intellectual life which was the wonder of Europe. Small wonder, then, that in such a place and at such a time, this experiment in applied philosophy should begin.

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## Chapter 2.

### Braidwood's Academy. (1760-1783)

Thomas Braidwood was born in 1715, possibly in Lanarkshire, although the place of his origin and early education remains obscure. At any rate he attended the University of Edinburgh and thereafter became an assistant at the grammar school at Hamilton. Later, although the date is again unknown, he removed back to Edinburgh and there "opened a school for the instruction of young men in geometry, mathematics, &c"<sup>1</sup>. This extremely brief summary of the first forty-five years of Braidwood's life is all that apparently remains of his recorded activities until we reach the year 1760, when he turned his attention to the education of the deaf.

Precisely why he should have done this is also far from clear, and there are several conflicting statements on the subject. The usually accepted account<sup>2</sup> is that in that year, a boy, Charles Sheriff by name, who was the son of a prosperous Leith merchant, and had been born deaf, was sent to him for lessons in writing. Braidwood became interested in the boy's affliction and attempted to teach him speech. After he had become interested in this work, he searched around for previous literature on the subject and came across Wallis's work which became his guide for the future.

Another account,<sup>3</sup> however, suggests that it was Mr. Sheriff

1. "Gentleman's Magazine" 1807 p.37.

2. *ibid* & Dictionary of National Biography. Art. "Braidwood".

3. Given by Dr. E.M. Gallaudet in "American Annals" Vol.1 p.189.

who came across the "Philosophical Transactions" (containing Wallis's letter to Beverley<sup>1</sup>) in his search for a means of alleviating his son's handicap. This was exactly what he wanted and so he determined to find someone who would try to put its theories into practice. Thomas Braidwood was the man he found, and the latter became so interested in this work that he established a school for its furtherance. This latter view is also supported by a statement in the Historical Sketch of the London Asylum that "Mr Braidwood undertook to carry into effect the plan of instruction given in the Philosophical Transactions".<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, Braidwood himself is reported to have maintained that "till Mr. Sheriff had very far advanced in education he" (Braidwood) "was wholly unacquainted with previous discoveries."<sup>3</sup>

Whoever suggested the idea, at any rate, the fact is clear that Braidwood started his work in 1760 with Charles Sheriff as his first pupil, and, either at the commencement of his education, or fairly soon after, based his practice on the theories of Wallis.

Having once started to teach the deaf, Braidwood made it his life's work. Either in 1760 or within the next year or so, he moved to Craigside House at the back of St. Leonard's Hill, Edinburgh.<sup>4</sup> Here, in this moderately-sized residence standing in a small area of ground on the fringes of the King's Park, he continued to teach the deaf for the next twenty years. Most of his pupils appear to have

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1. V. Supra p.3.

2. Quoted in American Annals Vol.1 p. 189.

3. Gentleman's Magazine 1807 p.38.

4. This later became 93-95 Dumbiedykes Road.



been boarders and by 1767 he had at least five of these.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1770 he took on his Son-in-law John Braidwood as a teacher and partner in the school. Three years later when the school was visited by Dr. Johnson, the number of pupils was estimated at "about 12"<sup>2</sup>, and by 1783 these had increased to "near twenty"<sup>3</sup> which Braidwood sensibly fixed as the maximum number which two people were able to teach. In addition to his deaf pupils, Braidwood, again following the fashion of Wallis, also taught pupils with speech defects. This seems to have been a feature of early deaf teaching and indicates the thoroughness with which speech production was studied.

The pupils were apparently of very varying ages, certainly between five and twenty-five years. Pupils of even more mature years were instructed by the Braidwood's, but generally the boarders appear to have fallen within the first-named category. They were all "lodged and boarded under the same roof with the teachers; and have all possible attention paid to their health and comfort. The apartments for the lads or boys being separate and at a distance from those of the young women or girls".<sup>4</sup> What the fees were in this establishment were, cannot be ascertained, but there is no evidence that they were unduly extortionate, for, in reference to the later establishment at Hackney, there is a complaint that the fees had been raised to a considerable degree since the death of Thomas, and the benefits "can now only be enjoyed by the sons and daughters of opulence."<sup>5</sup> The Braidwoods in Edinburgh were certainly not grasping, for they went

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1. Scots Magazine Vol. 29 p.421.

2. Journal of a Tour to the Western Isles (1775) p.380.

3. Vox Oculis Subiecta p.140. 4. ibid p.140.

5. Gentleman's Magazine 1807 p.130.



even so far as to maintain and teach some children, whose parents could not afford the fees, gratis.

The average time spent at the school was five years, as it was the considered opinion of Braidwood that this was the approximate period required to bring the children up to a sufficient proficiency in speech and understanding of language for the service of their needs. For those desiring to continue their studies, this initial course formed the basis on which other subjects could be developed, either by further instruction or by the pupil's own reading. However sanguine we may feel this opinion to be, and however limited their objectives were, nevertheless not only the Braidwoods themselves, but their many visitors, seemed satisfied that they accomplished what they set out to do, by the end of this period.

In the actual running of his school, Braidwood seems to have followed the methods adopted by the contemporary grammar schools in so far as they were applicable to his own establishment. Thus the normal school hours were 9 to 12 and 2 till 5 in winter; and 7-9, 10-1, and 3-5 in summer. Green, during his visit to the academy was able to report that "as soon as they rise in the morning they all repair to the same schoolroom for an hour or two before breakfast."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, a period for recreation was set aside each day and this was engaged in and supervised by the masters. Sunday forenoons were spent in a kind of Bible Class where moral and religious training was given. Owing to the paucity of the records, however, no real details of the corporate life of the

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1. Vox Oculis Subiecta p. 141.

school have come down to us, nor of the domestic staff nor their duties. Still, from the few scanty facts we have already given, a fairly reliable, if somewhat sketchy, picture of Braidwood's Academy may be drawn. It was very much like the other schools of the day, except in so far as the average age of the pupils would be somewhat higher, working the same number of hours, with the children out of school playing the same kind of games. The Sabbath was strictly observed and the score of children boarders would cause little excitement or comment in the district. On the other hand, the sloping street in which it was situated became locally known as the "Dumbiedykes" - a name which it bears to this day, and the fame of the school spread far and wide and attracted the notice of many well-known visitors to the Scottish capital. Dr. Johnson and Thomas Pennant may be mentioned as only two of those who have recorded their impressions of the school in the account of their travels.

What, then, were the methods which Braidwood used, apparently so successfully, to educate these deaf children? Unfortunately, Braidwood himself was unwilling to make public these methods, and so we are forced to rely on the accounts of visitors to the school; accounts which vary in value with the perspicacity and previous knowledge of the writer. In addition, it has not seemed unreliable to examine the methods of Dr. Joseph Watson, the nephew of Thomas Braidwood, who was trained by his uncle, and who, by explicitly stating that "his" (i.e. Braidwood's) "method was founded upon the same principles"<sup>1</sup>, may be assumed to

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1. "Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb". Intro.p.xxiii.



have adopted some of these methods and made them his own. The best account of the school, however, is that given by Francis Green, an American, whose son was a pupil at the school and who himself visited it in May 1781 and again in September 1782. From all these accounts we must endeavour to reconstruct the course of instruction given by Thomas Braidwood.

Instruction seems to have begun with the teaching of speech. "They at first only breathe strongly till they are taught that concussion and tremulous motion of the windpipe which produces audible sounds".<sup>1</sup> Having been taught to produce sound, the pupils were then taught the five vowels "in doing which, the teacher is obliged, not only himself to use many distortions and grimaces in order to shew his pupils the positions and actions of the several organs, but likewise to employ his hands to place and move their organs properly."<sup>2</sup> "When the five vowels can be distinctly sounded and discriminated then an easy monosyllable is learned as Ba, Be, &c."<sup>3</sup> The next stage was the learning of simple monosyllabic words. "Suppose the learner to be perfect in pronouncing Ba; then by placing his tongue in such a position as to add T, the word BAT is formed."<sup>4</sup> When the pupil had learned to articulate a word correctly then the object was shown to him so that he might associate the spoken word with the object. Next, the written form was taught and it too was associated with the object and the spoken word. During these early stages, the pupils were taught the names or "powers" of the letters of the alphabet - thus,

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1. Monboddo: "Origin and Progress of Language" Vol.1. p. 180.

2. *ibid* p. 181.

3. Vox Oculis Subiecta p.64.

4. Vox Oculis Subiecta p.64.

"wb for B, ec for c, ed for D, fa for F, ga for G, oo or ou for W."<sup>1</sup>

For the purpose of teaching articulation, Braidwood seems to have made use of "a small round piece of silver of a few inches long, the size of a tobacco pipe, flattened at one end, with a ball (as large as a marble) at the other;"<sup>2</sup> By means of this the tongue was placed initially into the correct positions for the articulation of different vowels and consonants.

This was the first stage of education, and, although the above order, i.e. speech, association with object, then writing, was apparently followed in the early days, it seems likely that later Braidwood changed his methods to teach the written sound before going on to teach the articulation of it. Great trouble was taken by means of repetition to ensure that the written and spoken forms were thoroughly grasped by the pupil. "The greatest care must be taken never to proceed to a new sound until the preceding has become familiar."<sup>3</sup>

The next stage was to expand the pupil's vocabulary both in speech and writing. "He next shows them the use of words in expressing visible objects and their qualities."<sup>4</sup> This appears to have been done on the lines of a classified vocabulary. Thus, parts of the body, dress, and articles of furniture, were amongst the first lists of names dealt with, then the pupil went on to learn varieties of foods, names of animals, &c. In order to vary this somewhat tedious work, pronouns were also learned at this stage, and then the verbs 'to be' and 'to have'. From these the pupils

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1. Ibid. p. 143.      2. Ibid p. 147.

3. Watson: "Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb" p.9.

4. Arnot: "History of Edinburgh" p.425.



were able to build up short sentences, without, however, being troubled about grammatical rules. The usual procedure of showing the object or action was followed: then the written form was given which the pupils copied, and finally they were taught how to articulate the word denoting the object or action. Practice at the foregoing seems to have made up the pupils' first year at school. Although this method would seem to be divorced from the natural method of learning, yet Braidwood did not adhere entirely to the mechanical learning of words by rote. "The attention of the teacher should be ever on the watch to seize, and, as far as possible to create, suitable occasions for the exemplification of his lessons."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, "the same examples and illustrations will by no means suit all learners, and the teacher who should depend upon such general instruction will find himself miserably deceived."<sup>2</sup> These last two very pertinent statements on method, which we may reasonably conclude Watson inherited from Braidwood, are a very clear indication of the ability of this family as teachers, and show how these very bare bones of methods which have been outlined could be covered and transformed by the skill of the teacher.

The pupils were now ready for more difficult exercises and the construction of longer sentences. This was probably done in dialogue fashion with the teacher asking questions and the pupil giving the answers. At the same time a start was made with the learning of grammatical rules. As a survey of the education to date, an interesting account is given by Green<sup>3</sup> of his first visit

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1. Watson: "Instruction of the Deaf & Dumb" Intro. p. xxxvi.

2. *ibid*

3. *Vox Oculis Subiecta* pp. 149-150.

to his son who had been under Braidwood's instruction for fifteen months and who was then nine years old. " The child eagerly advanced and addressed me with a distinct salutation of speech. He also made several enquiries in short sentences:- I then delivered him a letter from his sister which he read so as to be understood; he accompanied many of the words as he pronounced them with proper gestures significative of their meaning.....He could at that time repeat the Lord's Prayer very properly, and some other forms,..... I found he could in that short time read distinctly, in a slow manner, any English book, although it cannot be supposed he had as yet learned the meaning of many words."

Continuing with the second year's course of instruction, we find that in order to increase his vocabulary the pupil was taught definitions of words which he already knew. At the same time the conjugation of verbs was learned, along with qualities, and a comparison of adjectives. Natural phenomena and the idea of time were also introduced at this stage, whilst a start was made with number, "for nothing is more obvious to the eye than number."<sup>1</sup>

The later stages of the curriculum are more vague and confused, but in the third year, composition and the reading of printed books, was further continued. Again turning to Green<sup>2</sup> we find that his son after thirty-one months instruction had improved perceptibly "in speech, the construction of language, and in writing: he had made a good beginning in arithmetic, and suprising progress in the arts of drawing and painting. - I found him capable of not

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1. "Instr. of the Deaf and Dumb" p.99.

2. Vox Oculis Subiecta p. 152.



only comparing ideas, and drawing inferences, but expressing his sentiments with judgement."

Art seems to have taken a considerable place in the curriculum of the Braidwoods, and other subjects taught in the later stages were geography and geometry. In fact, once the key of reading and understanding what was read, had been obtained, then the whole world of knowledge was open to them, for "nothing then but their own application is needful; that is encreased in them by a consciousness of its absolute necessity; for as to sagacity, these pupils are far enough from any deficiency therein."<sup>1</sup>

It will probably have been noted that no mention of the manual alphabet has been made so far. It is not at all clear to what extent Braidwood made use of it in his teaching. That the pupils used it amongst themselves, there is explicit evidence, for Green notes that his son conversed with a school-fellow "by the tacit finger language,"<sup>2</sup> whilst Arnot<sup>3</sup> points out that the boys could communicate "by the help of the artificial alphabet they learned by putting the fingers into certain positions." It therefore may be assumed that the pupils were taught a manual alphabet in school, probably received some language instruction by means of it as an alternative to writing, and used it largely as a means of communication amongst themselves.

The skill of the pupils in lipreading is also noted by the various visitors to the school, and it would seem that the former were fairly proficient in this. Its limitations were noted but on the whole too sanguine a picture of what could be understood by

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1. *ibid* p. 144

2. *ibid* p. 152.      3. "History of Edinburgh" p.426.



lipreading, was presented.

Thus, Pennant, in describing a pupil, states that "she readily apprehended all I said,"<sup>1</sup> and is confirmed by Arnot's statement that "they understood us, although perfect strangers to them, by the motion of our lips.,"<sup>2</sup> and Johnson's observation that "if he that speaks looks towards them, and modifies his organs by distinct and full utterance, they know so well what is spoken, that it is an expression scarcely figurative to say, they hear with the eye."<sup>3</sup>

So much for the methods of Thomas Braidwood, but what of the results? We have seen the impression made by young Charles Green<sup>4</sup> upon his father, but what of the others, and how far<sup>were</sup> they successful? In September 1765 his first pupil Charles Sheriff, along with his second, the son of Dr. John Douglas, a London physician, were examined before a committee which included the President of the Royal Society (Edinburgh) and the Principal of the University. Both pupils showed remarkable progress in articulation and knowledge of language, and the committee were pleased to give the teacher an "attestation."

There are also some further interesting facts about Sheriff. After leaving the academy in 1767, he apparently practised painting

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1. "A Tour in Scotland" p. 257.      2. "History of Edinburgh" p.426.
  3. "Journey to the Western Islands" (1775) p.381.
  4. Young Green did not have much opportunity of developing his new-found skills, for he died in 1787 at the age of 17 in a shooting accident. His father continued to work in the cause of the education of the deaf till his death in 1809, and his account of the Braidwood Academy sent in a letter to New York seems to have had some influence in the founding of the New York Schools in 1816.
  - v. "American Annals" vol. xiii p.1.



assiduously and became a very successful miniaturist. He moved to London where he became well-known in fashionable society and finally emigrated to the East Indies. According to Lord Monboddo<sup>1</sup> he "both speaks and writes good English"; and other champions were not lacking, including one, Caleb Whiteford who wrote some "Lines on seeing Garrick act, by a Deaf pupil of Mr. Braidwood."<sup>2</sup> for him. These, of course, were published as Sheriff's own, but there seems little doubt that Whiteford wrote them but passed them off as Sheriff's in order to procure for the latter an introduction to Garrick, his favourite actor. We must set against Monboddo and his other champions, however, the statement of a writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" who, claiming considerable acquaintance with Sheriff, wrote that "his attempts at speech ever appeared to me like broken sounds, murmured in sleep, but much less distinct; and they were also extremely harsh and grating to the ear, so much so that not only my own family, but every person whom I have ever seen in his company, expressed the hope that Mr. Sheriff would not

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1. "Of the Origins and Progress of Language" vol. 1 p. 179.
  2. "Lines on seeing Garrick act"

"When Britain's Roscius on the stage appears  
 Who charms all eyes and (I am told) all ears,  
 With ease the various passions I can trace  
 Clearly reflected from that wond'rous face;  
 Whilst true conception, with just action joined,  
 Strongly impress each action on my mind.  
 What need of sounds when plainly I descry  
 Th'expressive features, and the speaking eye ?  
 That eye whose bright and penetrating ray  
 Doth Shakespeare's meaning to my soul convey:  
 Best commentator on great Shakespeare's text  
 When Garrick acts, no passage seems perplex'd."

C.S.

(Gentleman's Magazine 1807 p.38)

speak."<sup>1</sup> He further added that "more than a hundred inhabitants of Cambridge would acknowledge they could never understand a single sentence of Mr. Sheriff's."<sup>2</sup> It must therefore be evident that Braidwood's first pupil was not such a tremendous success as a speaker, as we are generally led to believe. At the same time, his skill as a painter, his manners, or his ability at lipreading, have never been called in question, and bear testimony to Braidwood's training.

This case has been dealt with at considerable length mainly because Sheriff was probably the best-known of Braidwood's pupils. But he was by no means the most celebrated, as witness the case of the Rt. Hon. Francis Humberstone McKenzie, Baron Seaforth.<sup>3</sup> He became deaf from scarlet fever at the age of 12, and spent a few years with Braidwood. However, as the boy would have a considerable amount of residual speech and naturally acquired language, his education would be less difficult and could be carried to a higher degree of proficiency. At any rate, in 1783, McKenzie became Chieftain of the Clan McKenzie, and later raised the Regiment of the Seaforth Highlanders, becoming its first Colonel. He was also sent to Barbadoes as Governor and during his tenure of that office was said to have acted with great humanity and public spirit.

The other less notable pupils did not perhaps rise to such heights in society, but they clearly impressed the many visitors to the school, and bore evidence of the success of Braidwood's teaching. To sum up, the pupils appear to have been well-grounded in language so that they could read tolerably well and understand what they read.

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1. Gentleman's Magazine 1807 p.305. 2 ibid

3. v. Kerr Love & Addison: "Deaf Mutism" p. 240.



Their lipreading was good, and, although their speech was probably "slow and somewhat harsh",<sup>1</sup> at least their articulation appears to have been good. Altogether, the standard of instruction was high and the fame of the academy was well merited.

In the year 1783 Braidwood decided to move his Academy to London. It was flourishing in Edinburgh, but whether he thought more money was to be made in the south, or that he might obtain Royal and influential support for the establishment of a public institution there, we do not know. At any rate, the Academy in Edinburgh was closed down, and the two Braidwoods moved to Grove House, Hackney, Middlesex, where they opened a new school. The efforts to set on foot a public institution at last bore fruit, and in 1792 the Old Kent Road Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb was opened, Braidwood's nephew, Joseph Watson, being appointed its first principal. However, the school at Hackney continued to flourish and, on the death of Thomas Braidwood on 24th October 1806, it was continued by his widow and son until about 1819.

Braidwood had perhaps not added very much to the stock of knowledge or even to the methods employed in the education of the deaf, but he had proved his skill as a teacher. His Academy filled a long-felt want in society and was the means whereby public notice throughout Great Britain was brought to bear on the value of this type of education, and the necessity for the foundation of a public institution wherein all children who had need of it, might have the benefit of this instruction. That Scotland did not yet have such an institution was not, as we shall see, the fault of Braidwood. But another twenty-seven years had to elapse before this benefit came about.

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1. Pennant: "A Tour in Scotland p. 256.

So ends the first phase of the education of the deaf in Scotland. A highly successful venture using well-tried methods and obtaining sound and lasting results had been presented to the public, but the public, although receiving it with a mild interest, were not yet prepared to contribute the funds necessary for a permanent institution. The state, naturally enough at this time, would not interfere in this matter, for the state had not, as yet, nor for a long time to come, assumed any responsibility for the education of children. Braidwood's Academy, therefore, was not the direct ancestor of our present school for the deaf, but merely a highly successful experiment whose results showed the need for, and value of, such a school.

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## CHAPTER 3.

The Interregnum (1783-1810 )

## (1)

Before we proceed to discuss the foundation, in Scotland, of a public institution for the education of the deaf and dumb, it is necessary to consider how this came about, and, also, how the deaf in Scotland were educated, if at all, in the twenty-seven years that elapsed between the closing of Braidwood's Academy and the opening of the Edinburgh Institution.

The idea of a charitable institution seems first to have been mooted about 1769. In July of that year, an anonymous letter to the "Scots Magazine" suggested that two things were necessary: "that he" (Braidwood) "shall communicate his skill to three or four young men who shall assist and succeed at the business, and second that some fund be established under proper managers, to be applied for defraying the expense of educating such as cannot afford it."<sup>1</sup> The writer went on to say that Braidwood had agreed to this plan and that the letter was therefore an appeal to the public to encourage such a scheme.

Nothing, however, seems to have resulted from this suggestion, and, in 1783, Green repeated the proposal that some young men be apprenticed to the Braidwoods in order that they might learn how to teach the deaf, and that a public fund should be established which could be applied to defraying the expenses of educating deaf children whose parents were too poor to afford the fees. "Messrs. Braidwood have repeatedly declared their readiness to undertake to qualify a sufficient number of young men for the execution of such a plan."<sup>2</sup>

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1. op. cit. vol. 31 p. 342.

2. "Vox Oculis Subiecta" p. 181.

At the same time the idea of applying to the King for Royal patronage and a donation, was put forward. There the matter rested for a year or two till, at length, Braidwood, having apparently decided that Royal patronage was not forthcoming to Edinburgh, moved South. However, at long last, in 1784 King George III saw fit to donate £100 for this laudable object and the Duke of Montagu was made custodian of the fund. But Braidwood had already gone, there seemed little prospect now of the institution being opened in Edinburgh, and so the precious £100 was handed over by the Duke to the Edinburgh Royal Academy of Exercises (an equestrian society) in order to help it to pay its debts.<sup>1</sup>

In point of fact this public institution, as we have already seen, was founded in London in 1792, and so the Edinburgh scheme had meantime to be abandoned. Some Scottish children did in fact attend the London Institution, but the difficulties of travelling, the great distance from home, and the cost of the journey, all prevented most of the children, whose parents desired to avail them of the facilities, from being sent there.

There was, however, during this period, another school for the deaf set up in Edinburgh. This was started by a Mr. John Johnston, presumably about the year 1788. No record of the man, his work, the numbers or successes of his pupils, can be found, and indeed the only references to the existence of such a school are the appropriate insertions in the "Edinburgh Directory" and some advertisements of vacancies in the school published in the "Edinburgh Advertiser." In one of these latter, under the date of June 2nd 1809, Johnston states

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1. V. "Book of the Old Edinburgh Club" vol.XX p. 137.



that he has had "more than 21 years practice of the art";<sup>1</sup> and it is on this slender evidence that we date the beginning of his teaching back to 1788. Between 1799 and 1812, however, it is certain that the school was in Reid's Close in the Canongate<sup>2</sup> from which it moved in the latter year to Wester Dalry.<sup>3</sup> In 1815 another move was made to 7 Windmill Street<sup>4</sup> where it remained till 1816, after which no further records can be found. Johnston claimed "to teach the Deaf and Dumb to speak and read distinctly; to have just notions of what is signified by words, phrases, and sentences; and, in due time, to understand articulated language, and express themselves properly."<sup>5</sup> Like Braidwood and others before him, he also taught pupils with speech defects; and seems to have accepted both day-pupils and boarders.

But this school, however interesting the fact of its existence may be, is outside the general development of deaf education in Scotland. It would be idle to speculate how Johnston came by his knowledge of the methods of instructing the deaf and what caused him to start a school. Suffice to say that it was either not well-known to the general public, or the fees were too excessive for most people wishing to avail themselves of its benefits; or the results were not satisfactory; otherwise it would have had greater fame and might have been the kernel of the future Edinburgh institution.

To discover the origins of the last-named, we have to go back to

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1. "Edinburgh Advertiser" June 2nd 1809.
  2. Aitchison: "Edinburgh & Leith Directory" p.125.
  3. "Post Office Annual Directory" & Edinburgh Advertiser  
(1813) p.136. May 22nd 1812.
  4. "Post Office Annual Directory" 1815 & 1816. p. 137.
  5. "Edinburgh Advertiser" June 2nd, 1809.

the early years of the century. A certain Mr. Geikie of Edinburgh had a deaf son Walter. This child, who was born in 1795, became deaf at the age of two, and, after the usual medical remedies had been tried to alleviate the defect (including that of salt water bathing, which in this case was claimed to have given a temporary and partial relief) his father attempted to instruct the child.<sup>1</sup> He had apparently heard of Braidwood's late Academy in the city and knew that such children were capable of instruction, and in 1804 came across a copy of the manual alphabet used by Watson at the London Institution. This helped him considerably in his work and in the next year or two he began to teach his son articulation. Mr. Geikie, whose occupation is not revealed, must have been a man with considerable powers as a teacher, as well as having a considerable amount of leisure time, and his success with his son began to be fairly widely spoken about. One of Geikie's friends, Robert Cathcart by name, was extremely enthusiastic about the work and suggested that Geikie should open a school. The latter, modestly feeling he was unequal to such a task, refused. But Cathcart was not prepared to let the matter rest there, and he began to try to interest as many influential people in the city as possible in the establishment of an institution for the education of the deaf. John Braidwood, a grandson of Thomas and then teaching in the Braidwood school at Hackney, was next approached, and he agreed to take over such an institution should sufficient funds be found. The

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1. For an account of Geikie's work v.  
 "American Annals of the Deaf" vol. VII  
 p. 229. et seq. which contains a letter by  
 the Rev. Arch. Geikie, a brother of the  
 deaf boy Walter.



result of these negotiations was that on 3rd June 1809 a meeting was held (in Fortune's Tavern)<sup>1</sup> of all those who could be induced to support the venture (including the Lord Provost), and was presided over by the Duke of Buccleuch. A subscription list was opened (which was headed by the noble Duke with a donation of £200) and some "salutary regulations"<sup>2</sup> were drawn up and approved. Although the actual school was not in operation till the following year, it seems reasonable to date its foundation to this first meeting of subscribers.<sup>3</sup> The following year, on the 28th May, the first annual meeting was held when it was reported<sup>4</sup> that donations amounting to £560 and annual subscriptions to the amount of £63 had been received, yielding an annual income of £91.

On this somewhat slender financial basis the Edinburgh Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb was born, with John Braidwood as its first principal.

(2)

At this stage it does not seem inappropriate to mention the work that was being done in France with regard to the education of the deaf; for we will find (when we come to deal with the next period

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1. "Edinburgh Advertiser" June 6th. 1809.

2. *ibid*

3. The date of the foundation of the Institution is usually given as 1810. Whilst it is true that the school was not in operation until that year, there seems to be no good reason why it should not be ante-dated to 1809 when this first meeting took place at which the rules for the Institution were drawn up and the subscription list opened.

4. *v.* "Edinburgh Advertiser" June 5th 1810.



of our investigation) that the influence of this work was widespread.

At about the same time that Braidwood opened his Academy in Edinburgh a young French priest, De L'Epee by name, began to teach the deaf in Paris. It is unnecessary to enter here into the details of his work:<sup>1</sup> what is of importance is the method he adopted. De L'Epee decided that the main aim of his teaching was to encourage the deaf child to think, and that for this purpose speech was superfluous. He considered that the deaf had a natural language of their own - that of signs and gestures - and that these should be the basis of instruction. However, this natural language was inadequate and lacked syntax, so that "signes methodiques" would require to be invented which would correspond and relate to conventional language. These signs would be interposed between ideas and written language and so would enable the deaf to express their thoughts. Of course writing and the manual alphabet were to be used as auxiliary aids to instruction. In fairness to De L'Epee, however, it is necessary to point out that although he deemed speech unnecessary for his purpose of teaching the deaf to think, nevertheless he saw the social value of speech as a means of communication and wrote that "l'unique moyen de rendre totalement les sourds-muets a la Societe est de leur apprendre a entendre par les yeux et a s'exprimer de vivre voix."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless speech remained for De L'Epee a social grace and not a necessity, so that, when, owing to the pressure of numbers, he was forced to cut down his course of instruction, speech teaching was discontinued.

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1. For fuller information about De L'Epee and the French "School," the following should be consulted:-

De L'Epee: "True Manner of Educating the Deaf and Dumb" (trans 1801)

R.A. Sicard: "Cours d'Instruction d'un Sourd-Muet de Naissance." (1803) Paris. London.

A.Bebian: "Essai sur les Sourd-Muets." (1817) Paris

C.Baker: "Contributions to Education" (1842) Doncaster.

T.Arnold: "Education of Deaf Mutes" (1888-91) London.

Parrel & Lamarque: "Les Sourds-Muets" (1925) Paris.

2. Quoted in Parrel & Lamarque op cit p.151.



The signs which De L'Epee used were not exclusively mimic, , but were mainly artificial and conventional. He believed that a complete dictionary of signs could be compiled and, although he listed a fairly large vocabulary of them, he did not live to see his plan reach fruition. This, however, was completed by his pupil: and successor Sicard, who increased the volume of signs very considerably and classified them in a "Natural order."

Such, in brief, was the origin and method of the French or "silent" system of education to which we shall later have occasion to refer.

## CHAPTER 4.

THE EARLY INSTITUTIONS ( 1810-1846 )1. Foundation of the Schools.

The Edinburgh Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb had at last got under way by the summer of 1810, as we have seen. No building was yet available nor did the slender funds permit of suitable premises being taken over, so it was agreed that the children should attend daily for instruction at John Braidwood's<sup>1</sup> house at 14 George Street.<sup>2</sup> Braidwood was allowed to collect what fees he thought parents could afford for their children, whilst the whole of the income from the existing funds was paid to him to cover the cost of the instruction of children of poorer parents. Walter Geikie was one of the first pupils to be enrolled and was charged nine guineas a quarter.<sup>3</sup> However, he seems to have received little instruction himself and was employed by Braidwood as a monitor or assistant teacher to help with the other pupils. By the following summer, the Directors at length felt able to take over a more appropriate building and so the children were transferred to what was the first proper school at 54 Rose Street. By this time there were 11 children on the roll<sup>4</sup> although how many of these were boarders and how many day pupils, cannot be ascertained.

From the point of view of the Directors of the Institution the main goal was to obtain as much financial support as possible, for the original funds were only sufficient to enable the Institution to operate on a hand to mouth basis. Accordingly, in 1810, a circular letter was drafted and sent to the Scottish M.P's., Lords Lieutenant,

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1. "Edinburgh Advertiser," June 5th 1810.

2. "Weekly Scotsman," Jan 15th 1938. 3. "American Annals," Vol.VII p.229

4. "Edinburgh Advertiser," June 18th. 1811.



all the corporate bodies in the country, and the clergy, explaining the benefits of the Institution and the need for financial support.<sup>1</sup> In return for such support certain benefits were conferred on the donor. Thus, a subscription of £200 from a county, burgh, or parish, entitled it to a life-governorship and the privilege of having a place reserved for one child on the roll; an annual subscription of £12 12/- would give the same privilege. In both cases, however, the expense of maintenance, which amounted to £13 per annum, had to be defrayed.<sup>2</sup> Several counties, including Ayrshire, Kirkcudbright, and Roxburgh subscribed on these terms.<sup>3</sup>

Braidwood, however, although a brilliant teacher, was of an unstable character and in August 1811 he gave up his post and left the city somewhat precipitately. It is conjectured that he misused money belonging to the Institution, although the secretary publicly denied this.<sup>4</sup> In view of his subsequent career, however, it is extremely probable that this was the case, or that at any rate he conducted himself in a manner unbecoming to his position.<sup>5</sup> The question of his successor then arose; and once more Geikie was approached in the matter. Again he declined on the grounds that he did not feel capable of undertaking the task.<sup>6</sup> Eventually Robert Kinniburgh - an unsuccessful Congregational Minister - agreed to take over the school, and was sent to the Braidwood Academy at Hackney for training.

1. "Edinburgh Advertiser," June 5th 1810.
2. - do - June 18th 1811.
3. - do - - do -
4. "Weekly Scotsman," Jan 15th 1938.
5. For an account of the subsequent career of John Braidwood see "American Annals of the Deaf," Vol LXIII pp. 459-63.
6. "Amer. Annals," Vol VII p. 229.

Kinniburgh, who was 33 years old at this time, was a native of Kirkintilloch where his father was a flax draper, and, after serving for some time in the army, had turned to evangelical preaching at Dunkeld.<sup>1</sup> Although unsuccessful in his pastoral work, yet he retained a strong evangelical trait which was evident in the whole of his subsequent career as headmaster of the Edinburgh Institution.

The Braidwoods were not anxious to divulge their methods outside the family circle, and, although they agreed to help Kinniburgh, no doubt largely owing to the defection of John Braidwood, they imposed severe terms. These were that he might not communicate to anyone the methods of instruction nor teach anyone save "charity scholars" for a period of seven years. Failure to keep this agreement would lead to the forfeiture of a £1000 bond.<sup>2</sup> In point of fact the ban on private pupils was lifted after three years, but Kinniburgh had to pay half of the fees he received for this work to the Braidwood family until the termination of the period of bondage in 1819.

In December 1811 Kinniburgh, duly instructed in the "mysteries" of the Braidwood art, returned to Edinburgh to take up his post. Not the least among his many duties was to join in the financial drive which was an unfortunate necessity if the school was to keep going and he, incidentally, to receive his salary. On the 21st July 1814 he took a number, of pupils to Glasgow where his methods of teaching and their results were demonstrated. This caused so much enthusiasm that a committee was formed to "procure subscriptions and consider the best means of advancing the interests of the

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1. Atkinson: "Memoirs of my Youth," p. 18.

2. "Edinburgh Messenger" p.22.



institution".<sup>1</sup> The leading figures giving support to this scheme were the Lord Provost of Glasgow, - Kirkman Finlay - Dr. Muir, and Mr. Andrew Tennant the last two of whom became secretary and treasurer respectively. Thus was formed the Glasgow Auxiliary Society which quickly raised funds in order to send poor children from Glasgow to the Edinburgh Institution. £500 was contributed in a few months, and the following year 10 children were sent as beneficiaries to receive instruction in Edinburgh.

Meanwhile it was becoming clear that the existing premises in Rose Street were not adequate to house the ever-growing number of pupils which had reached the total of 36 by the end of 1814. Consequently a new house at Chessels Court (the old Excise Office of Scotland) in the Cannongate was bought in the summer of 1814 for £1000, and, after a further £170 had been spent on repairs and the fitting-up of a school-room, it was ready for occupancy about October 1814.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-nine of the pupils were now in residence of whom twelve received free board and education, ten received free education, and seven paid for both board and education. There were seven day pupils.

The funds, however, were still very low and as a result Kinniburgh was sent out on his travels to encourage Scotsmen furth of Edinburgh to contribute towards what was then looked upon as a national institution. In November 1815 two more demonstrations were given in Glasgow, as well as an abortive attempt made to secure a portion of the profits of the late successful Edinburgh Musical Festival.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 1st Annual Report of Glasgow Institution 1820..
  2. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1815.
  3. - do - for 1816.

In 1817 it was felt that the resources of the northern part of the country had not been sufficiently tapped and so an extended tour was made in September and October of that year to Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Stonehaven, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Inverness, Dunkeld, and Perth. As a result of these exhibitions £77 was added to the funds and Auxiliary Societies formed in Perth and Inverness.<sup>1</sup>

In Aberdeen, however, the visit appears to have had a somewhat different effect to that which was intended. Instead of raising funds to support pupils at the Institution in Edinburgh, the citizens of Aberdeen held public meetings to raise funds with the object of starting a similar Institution in Aberdeen, and on 26th August 1817 a Society for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb in Aberdeen was formed. Subscriptions were rather slow in coming forward at first, and a private venture was started by a Mr. England.<sup>2</sup> No details of his school are extant, but it appears he ran it on oral lines, although whether he based his methods on Kinniburgh's demonstrations, or obtained them from another source, is not known. After two or three years the school was abandoned, the pupils, as Kinniburgh spitefully remarked later, "having derived almost no advantage from it."<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile subscriptions for the founding of a public institution continued to come in, and, by March 1818 it was felt that there was enough capital to make a beginning. Accordingly it was suggested that a suitable person should be sent to Paris to be trained under Sicard whose methods were thought to be the most efficient.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ann. Report of Edin. Instit. 1818.
  2. Ann. Report of Aberdeen Instit. 1919.
  3. "The Edinburgh Messenger" Vol. I. p. 72.
  4. Arnold: "Education of the Deaf" Vol. 2. p. 223.



In point of fact there was no other place where he could be trained, for, as we have seen, the monopoly remained in the hands of the Braidwood family who were extremely reluctant to pass on information, whilst Kinniburgh was still under their bond. Robert Taylor - a divinity student - was chosen, and, after nine months training, he returned to Aberdeen to open the institution.<sup>1</sup> The work commenced in August 1819 in a house in Upper Kirkgate<sup>2</sup> with three pupils which soon increased to nine. Thus we have two opposing systems of instruction now operating in the country. In Edinburgh (and, as we shall see, in Glasgow) the method used was the oral one in the tradition of Braidwood, whilst in Aberdeen we have the French or "silent" system. The effects of this state of affairs we shall discuss in a later section.

This 1817 visit of Kinniburgh and his pupils to Dundee looked at first as if it might have a similar effect to that created in Aberdeen. "It occurred to some that a seminary might be instituted here",<sup>3</sup> and certainly a start was made in that direction. James Rattray, a poor theological student, came forward as a potential teacher and was, in fact, given several children to teach. Rattray's interest in the work apparently arose from the fact that he had a deaf and dumb brother, but how he learned to teach the deaf is not clear, although it is probable that Kinniburgh's demonstration had some effect in this direction. This is confirmed by the fact that when he visited the Old Kent Road Institution in London, under Watson, in 1821, he found to his pleasure that the methods used there were

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1. Minutes of Evidence taken before Educational Endowments Commission (Aberdeen 8th June 1933. p.1.)

2. Ann. Report of Aberdeen Instit. for 1919.

3. Dundee Advertiser May 22nd 1818.

almost identical with those he had practised in Dundee.<sup>1</sup> This is scarcely suprising when we remember that Watson was a former assistant of Braidwood at Hackney, and that both his and Kinniburgh's methods derived from the same source. At any rate, the results that Rattray produced were not unsuccessful<sup>2</sup>, and the school appears to have remained in existence for about three or four years. By 1826, however, Dundee once more sent its pupils to the Edinburgh Institution and an Auxiliary Society was formed in the town.

In spite of the poor response to appeals, and the somewhat precarious position of the finances, owing partly to the above-noted separatist attitude of Dundee and Aberdeen, the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution were ever ready to press on with new schemes and improvements. After a typhus epidemic in the spring of 1818 (which affected 15 of the pupils, whilst the remainder were removed temporarily to a house in Gilmore Place) they decided than an addition to Chessels Court in the shape of an hospital would be of great value. Unfortunately the cost of the scheme was too great and it had to be abandoned, although in the following year a small house adjoining was bought for £450 and made into dormitories for girls.<sup>3</sup>

The crowded state of the school (there were by 1818, 50 pupils on the roll) had meantime caused the Glasgow Auxiliary Society to review the situation. They had a great number of applicants for the few vacancies which Edinburgh could offer, and, as a result, they decided to break away from the parent society and form another with a

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1. Letter of James Rattray to Mrs. Gray of Clepington (22nd Feb 1822)

2. Dundee Advertiser June 5th 1818.

3. Annual Report of the Edinburgh Institution for 1820.



school of its own. On 14th. January 1819 a public meeting was called and the "Glasgow Society for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb" was founded. The problem of finding a teacher for this new school was a somewhat difficult one, but luckily, a gentleman by the name of John Anderson had been running a school for the deaf in the city since 1816. He had a dozen pupils and was invited to attend the public meeting in January with his pupils to give a demonstration of his skill. Apparently this was satisfactory, for Anderson was appointed to take charge of the new Glasgow Institution.<sup>1</sup>

Regulations<sup>2</sup> were drawn up on the same lines as the Edinburgh Institution and a subscription list opened. Within a few weeks £2000 was raised and a site on the Barony Glebe<sup>3</sup> purchased. Meanwhile Anderson was given 10 more pupils and these, together with his own, he continued to teach in his house at 38 John Street until the new school was completed. The foundation stone of the new building was laid in March 1820 and by the following year it was ready for occupation. Forty-five pupils were enrolled in the new building and Anderson was given two assistants to help in the work.

The foundation of these new institutions was not well received by the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution who suggested that "the foundation of Auxiliary Societies is more to be desired than the formation of independent Societies supporting Schools of their own."<sup>4</sup> The main grounds for their complaint was, of course,

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1. 1st Annual Report of Glasgow Instit. 1820.

2. The two sets of regulations were very similar and contained the following items:-

"No child to be admitted unless two reliable witnesses attested he or she was deaf and dumb"

"No one with defective intellect to be considered."

"Age of admission to be from 9-14"

"Committee to fix what proportion of board was to be paid by parents & friends."

3. Address later became 38 Parson Street, Barony Glebe.

4. Report of Edinburgh Instit. 1820 p. 14.

the fact that subscriptions were now diverted to sources other than the Edinburgh Institution.

However, funds did still continue to come in and by 1821 there were 51 pupils on the roll. But Chessels Court was providing inadequate both from the point of view of accommodation and from "the temptations that surround the building."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, an entirely new site was sought and this was eventually found in Distillery Park, Henderson Row. Two acres of land were feued from the Heriot Trust and James Gillespie, the architect, furnished, gratuitously, plans for the new building. At first it was suggested that £2000 would cover the cost of erecting and furnishing the new institution and consequently a drive for new subscriptions was begun. Kinniburgh was sent on tour to exhibit the pupils once more, and this, which covered the south of Scotland and the north of England (reaching Newcastle, Durham, Sunderland, Darlington, and Carlisle) raised £330. At the same time the General Assembly was petitioned to allow parochial collections to be made throughout the country, and from this a further £870 was raised. Collections in Edinburgh raised £1850, and with the sale of Chessels Court for £1461, quite a substantial sum was raised.<sup>2</sup> In point of fact the new building cost nearly £7300 and so the new school (under Royal Patronage since 1823) entered into the world, in May 1824, £1300 in debt. The immediate result of the removal was that the roll now jumped up to 69 pupils, but even so there was still a waiting list of 40 pupils who could not be supported either by their parents or friends and whom the school was unable to maintain owing to the precarious financial position.

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1. Report of Edinburgh Instit.  
for 1824.

2. Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. for 1824.



Finance, rather naturally, bulks large in an account of these early days. The institutions were entirely dependent on charity and there were no large endowments, so that the number of children receiving education depended to a very large extent on the amount of subscriptions for any given year. However, by 1826, the debt had been reduced to £500 and there were 81 pupils on the roll, although there was still a waiting list of another 30. In an attempt to increase subscriptions a Ladies' Auxiliary Society was formed in 1836 and they produced a scheme known as a "Thankful Tax", copied from a similar idea started in Dublin two years previously. Apparently the method was that all parents were asked to contribute 1d per week as a means of showing their gratitude that their children had not been born deaf and dumb.<sup>1</sup> The appeal was very evidently successful for by the following year 13 children were being maintained at school by this Ladies' Auxiliary Society. Board and Education cost the Institution approximately £20 per child per annum, but the charge to parents was fixed at £15 per annum.

Glasgow Institution, although perhaps never in quite such dire financial straits as Edinburgh, had nevertheless its own financial worries. By 1823 there was a Paisley Auxiliary Society which helped to maintain its own children who were being educated in Glasgow, but this did little to alleviate the position. In fact, by 1828, funds were so low that a proposal was made to close down the Institution and incorporate it once more with Edinburgh,<sup>2</sup> but the pride of the Directors could scarcely allow such a fatality to occur. A greater drive for subscriptions eased the situation somewhat, although the defection of one of the collectors with quite a large

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. 1836.

2. Annual Report of Glasgow for 1828.

proportion of the annual subscriptions for 1836, did not help matters.

By this time the number of pupils on the roll had increased to 68 (one more than the maximum number the building was supposed to accommodate) so that an extension was urgently called for. Accordingly a new schoolroom and sleeping accommodation for a further 30 children was added in 1838 at a cost of just over £2000.<sup>1</sup> A special subscription list was opened and a considerable amount raised. Nevertheless the Institution remained in debt till in 1841 the Town Council of Glasgow voted £200 to help in clearing this off. In 1845 a "Thanksgiving Fund" similar to that tried out in Edinburgh was begun, and thereafter the Glasgow Institution appeared to put its financial worries behind it. It is perhaps interesting to note that a most unusual and useful donation in the shape of about 100 carts of coal was presented by local coalowners each year from 1846 to about 1887.

During this period there were at least three day schools in existence in Scotland. In 1830 one was opened in Paisley by a certain John Mitchell. By 1835 he had seven pupils, but its existence seems to have terminated in 1842 or 1843.<sup>2</sup> Apart from references to the fact of its existence no other records of this school appear to be extant.

In 1819 a private school was opened in Perth by George Hutton. Hutton, who had become parish schoolmaster of Caputh for a few years previously, had his attention drawn to the handicap of deaf children by the plight of one of his pupils. An application to Edinburgh for

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1. *ibid* for 1838.

2. v. Fowler's "Commercial Directory of the Upper Ward of Renfrewshire," for 1830, 1834, 1836, & 1841. also "Historical Sketch of Glasgow Institution" 1835.



guidance on the subject brought no satisfactory results and so Hutton worked out a system of his own. Eventually in 1819 he decided to give up his post and concentrate on work with deaf children, and in that year he moved to Perth where he opened his private school.<sup>1</sup> This he conducted till 1859, at the same time holding religious services for the deaf of the city every Sunday, and generally acting as guide and friend to all similarly afflicted adults and children. His son also became interested in this work, and, after serving for 11 years on the staff of the Edinburgh Institution went to Nova Scotia to take charge of a similar institution there. In 1859 his father followed him and the school in Perth lapsed. George Hutton was deeply interested in the profession he had adopted and, in addition to the work outlined above, wrote many papers on the subject, including one on "Mimography" or the transference of signs into writing.

The third, and largest, day-school was that which was opened in Edinburgh in 1837. The school, which was located at 18 St. John Street, was run by a Society roughly modelled on that of the Institution and had as teacher a Mr. Drysdale who was himself deaf and dumb. In 1840 there were 30 pupils on the roll, of whom 20 were boarders. The latter were charged £10 per annum if under 12 (and correspondingly higher if older) for board and lodging, and 12/- per annum for education. Day pupils paid from 3/- to 5/- per quarter.<sup>2</sup> In order to help the financial position, Drysdale and some of his pupils made tours of the country copying the similar expeditions made by Kinniburgh previously.

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1. "Amer. Annals" Vol XIX p.207.

2. 3rd Annual Report of Deaf and Dumb Day School 1840.

It is obvious that there would be considerable rivalry between the two schools in Edinburgh, for both were catering for the same type of children. Kinniburgh took the opportunity of giving a public rebuff to his rival on the occasion of the latter's visit to Paisley on a money-making tour in 1844. He declared that the public were being misled because the interpreter could not read the finger spelling of the children. Not, of course, went on Kinniburgh, that he sought a monopoly of teaching the deaf, but he would only countenance "proper education".<sup>1</sup> Mr. T. McFarlane, a director of the school, in reply, sought to justify its existence by declaring that the Institution could not accommodate all who desired admission, whilst in any case, owing to "superior economic management"<sup>2</sup> boarders were admitted at lower rates than those charged by the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution.

These public (and private) bickerings went on for some time, but at length, towards the end of 1845, it was agreed to amalgamate the two schools. Accordingly, on 30th January 1846, the 50 pupils of the day school moved over to Henderson Row and the funds of the two Societies were amalgamated. Drysdale was to be taken on to the staff of the Institution which also agreed to admit day pupils at a charge of 3/- per quarter.<sup>3</sup> Such an influx naturally taxed the resources of the Institution and so plans for an extension of the premises to include a new school-room and dining-room were put forward. However, as during the next two or three years the numbers declined to about 70, these plans were never put into effect.

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1. "Scottish Guardian" 23rd August 1844. (letter to editor by R. Kinniburgh)

2. "Scottish Guardian" 23rd August 1844.

3. "Scotsman" 31st. Jan. 1846 (& Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. for 1846).



It is unfortunately not possible to trace the history of the Aberdeen Institution from its foundation to the end of this period of development. There are now apparently no records in existence and, save for the bare facts that Taylor resigned his post in 1834 and was succeeded by Matthew Burns - himself a deaf-mute - who in his turn was succeeded in 1841 by Weir who had been an assistant at Edinburgh, very little is known of the work there. The number of pupils on the roll increased slowly from 16 in 1830 to 28 in 1845.<sup>1</sup> The funds were apparently rather low, and in the 'thirties' it was laid down that only children could be admitted whose parents or friends were willing to pay half the cost of board (£16 per annum.)<sup>2</sup>

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1. "Edinburgh Messenger" Vol.I. p. 72.

2. "New Statistical Account of Scotland", (1840) VolXII p.55.

## 2. Curriculum and Methods.

Having discussed the foundation and development of schools in the first half of the nineteenth century, it is now necessary to consider the work which was being carried on there. To understand this more clearly it does not seem inappropriate to consider what the aims of those early educators were, and the motives that led them to adopt the methods which they used. It seems true to state that much of the underlying motive of the work was evangelical. Those interested in the welfare of the deaf were genuinely horrified that a class of society should grow up in ignorance of God. At the same time they felt that this same class should have an opportunity of living useful and happy lives in society - a state which, without education, the deaf could not attain. Such aims were, of course, excellent, although we must immediately qualify that adjective by pointing out that a great deal depends on the interpretation put on the words "happy" and "useful". Suspicions are at once aroused, for example, by the use of such a phrase as "useful to the society in which they might otherwise have been accounted a nuisance and a burden".<sup>1</sup> Put at its highest, the aim was to produce an honest, God-fearing, and useful citizen; at its lowest, a person able to read the Bible, able to comprehend instructions (whether given orally, in writing, by gesture, finger spelling, or some other means), and with a sufficient skill to be able to master a suitable trade or occupation. Such aims, though far from base, were somewhat narrow, although it is necessary to reiterate the warning that it is unfair to judge these aims by modern standards. When we compare them with the

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. for 1823.



aims prevailing in ordinary schools of the time, it is clear that they were quite in keeping with the contemporary outlook on education.

By far the best and most authentic account of the curriculum and methods in the second decade of the nineteenth century is that of Alexander Atkinson who was a pupil at the Edinburgh Institution from 1815 to 1820.<sup>1</sup> He gives us a first-hand picture of the life of a pupil at the Institution at that time.

When a new pupil arrived at school he was put into the "newest class". There he spent the "first week in drawing preparatory figures on a ruled slate, after which I was set to letters of the alphabet, one by one, two by two, and so on".<sup>2</sup> This was followed by learning names of the parts of the body, followed by that of household articles. The procedure seems to have been that the word was written by the teacher; the object or picture pointed out; the sign for the object made by the teacher; and then the word spelled on the fingers. Finally the pupil had to repeat the whole sequence himself. Names of birds, animals, and all other conceivable classes of objects were treated in the same tedious fashion. To assist in the learning of this vocabulary each pupil was given a thick book of engravings, copies of which were also hung round the walls of the class-room. Some abstract nouns followed this and then adjectives. When these had been mastered verbs of action were learned and then these joined with nouns to form simple commands. It will be noticed that the pupils were not taught orally. Speech was indeed taught but this took the form of articulation exercises in which the pupil imitated the motions of the lips and tongue of the teacher. After the

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1. see "Memoirs of my Youth" (Newcastle-on-Tyne) 1865.

2. ibid p.26.

various sounds had been mastered, Kinniburgh, apparently, handed over the teaching of speech to his wife.<sup>1</sup>

Number was not taught until the beginning of the second year at school. This was introduced by counting strokes on a slate. Addition was by joining the fingers of one hand to the other; subtraction by spreading them all out and turning some down; and multiplication by reckoning the fingers twice or thrice. The children were now in what was known as the "noun and verb class" where commands and definitions using these two parts of speech had to be memorised, e.g. "a spoon is for the use of drinking broth".<sup>2</sup> This was followed by the memorising of exercises designed to illustrate the use of possessive pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and answers to questions beginning with the words what, when, where and who.

All this was obviously very formal and must have taxed the memories of the young students very heavily, whilst the time spent on it by the teacher must have been very considerable. However, the adoption of the monitorial system did something to lighten the burden of the latter, and the bright senior pupil could obviously take over much of this rote work in the younger classes. Such a one was Joseph Turner at Edinburgh, who, from being one of Kinniburgh's star performers on his tours of exhibition, graduated to the post of monitor, and finally became an assistant master. His speech and lipreading, according to Atkinson, were first-rate, although it would appear that neither were greatly needed in the course of instruction, apart from articulation exercises, which were in any case taken by Kinniburgh himself or his wife.

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1. "Memoirs of my Youth" p. 31

2. ibid p. 40.



By the time the pupils had reached the higher classes they were given exercises in composition. Such exercises seem to have been formal and, although the complete composition may not have been learned by heart, yet the majority of the sentences of which it was composed, had been. Every morning, states Atkinson, the pupils presented their efforts at composition on a slate, and came out one by one to Kinniburgh for correction. The latter, however, "bestowed the greatest attention on the most hopeful composer, and the least upon the most stupid."<sup>1</sup>

At this stage, too, vocabulary was increased by definitions, although such examples as we possess of this kind would seem to indicate that the definition was likely to be more difficult of comprehension than the word which it was intended to clarify: e.g. Music - "the language of sentiment and the breath of the passions",<sup>2</sup> or Joy - "That agreeable sensation of the mind which arises from the possession or expectation of something pleasing, valuable, or good."<sup>3</sup>

A great number of facts relative to religious knowledge, Bible history, and physical geography, were also memorised by the pupils, and these were duly displayed at the annual public exhibition. Work in arithmetic seems to have been reasonably advanced, although the value to these children of such examples as the "price of 106½ yards at 16/10½ per yard" or "the interest on £2146:17:6 for 4 years at 4½% per annum"<sup>4</sup>, is extremely dubious.

It will thus be evident that much of the teaching was formal. It was clear that these children required a knowledge of the English language and so what was deemed to be a requisite amount of language

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2. "Memoirs of my Youth" p. 182.  
Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. for 1826.

3.               ibid       for 1827

4.               ibid



was drilled into them. Spontaneity could hardly be said to be a feature of the pupil's response, and yet spontaneity was probably little in evidence in any school of the time. There is a danger in assessing the work of these early schools against a background of modern methods: when viewed through contemporary eyes the schooling given probably did not fall much below ordinary standards.<sup>1</sup>

The methods of instruction seem to have been mainly by writing and finger spelling. Gestures were used in early education, in fact there appears to have been a "sign dialect" of the school: but, since the acquisition of language was the aim of teaching, this sign dialect was only used to explain meanings which were then transcribed into written or finger-spelled symbols. Speech teaching was not an integral part of education. It was an accomplishment generally reserved for those who were later termed the semi-deaf and semi-mute, although not necessarily entirely confined to them. In point of fact, all reference to the exhibition of articulation at the annual examination ceases after 1820, and it therefore seems unlikely that there was much, if any, speech teaching by Kinniburgh after that date.

Although this account of school work has largely been drawn from the work of the Edinburgh school, it typifies much that was done elsewhere. In Glasgow, at least until 1832, work<sup>2</sup> seems to have been

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1. In this connection it is perhaps apposite to quote Simpson, who, in his "Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872" states that "Until well into the Nineteenth Century besides religious knowledge, the only subject taught to every pupil in Aberdeenshire was reading", whilst "religious knowledge as a rule meant only memorising the catechism and selections from the metrical psalms and para-phrases, too often without explanation of any kind." (p.25)
  2. In this connection one may note that a specimen of original(?) composition included in the Annual Report for 1825 is an exact copy of another "original" composition which had previously appeared in the Report for 1822. Although in the interval there had been two changes of headmaster, the traditional exercises were evidently unaffected.



modelled on that of the parent institution in the east, and Kinniburgh was often called across the country either to examine the progress of the scholars or to give advice on the running of the school. The appointment of Duncan Anderson in 1832 to the charge of the Glasgow Institution probably inaugurated a period of greater independence, for Anderson proved himself a gifted and original teacher. The subjects of instruction were indeed much the same - namely, a knowledge of the scriptures, and principles of Christian religion, reading, arithmetic, geography, and linear drawing,<sup>1</sup> but the headmaster brought zest and new ideas into the work. The school gardens were laid out in the manner of a botanical garden, a museum was formed, and many useful drawings and illustrations produced. By 1841, Anderson (in conjunction with Baker, the Headmaster of the Doncaster Institution) had produced a series of "Graduated Lessons in Language and Grammar for the Deaf and Dumb." This was a comprehensive series of lessons which started with a classified vocabulary and then went on to illustrate the uses of various parts of speech - adjectives, pronouns, and verbs. Sentences and questions on different subjects to illustrate all the various combinations of the parts of speech already learned, then followed. Altogether, it seems to have been a most successful and widely-used book.

At first, Anderson was a keen teacher of speech. He devised a model of the human speech mechanism for this purpose, which consisted of an upper and lower jaw made of clay into which a set of tongues would fit which could be used to demonstrate the different positions required to articulate different sounds. It was of practically no value for teaching and was used mainly to impress visitors.<sup>2</sup>

1. Historical Sketch of Glasgow Inst. (1835) p.23.

2. V. "Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education" Vol.1. p.386.



He apparently later decided that the time taken up with speech-teaching could be more profitably used otherwise. The main method of instruction was, however, writing, finger-spelling, and signs. Whilst the methods used in Edinburgh were those which Kinniburgh had learned from Watson at Hackney and therefore were ultimately derived from Braidwood, yet they seem to have undergone a considerable change with the passing of the years and to have been influenced very considerably by the work of De L'Epee and Sicard, in France. As early as 1823, we find the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution stating that "signs are the only language the deaf can comprehend, and they must be taught by it."<sup>1</sup> In Glasgow, by 1835, the methods were avowedly<sup>2</sup> derived from Bébien, a follower of Sicard. Bébien believed that the true method of educating the deaf was by signs, for speech was too difficult to learn - "la parole ne peut donc servir de base à l'éducation des sourds-muets; mais elle en peut, elle en droit être, le complément."<sup>3</sup> In any case, Bébien declared, speech could be learned in a few months after leaving school, providing that the pupil had learned language." N'est-il donc pas absurde de vouloir consacrer le temps de l'éducation des sourds-muets à leur donner l'usage de la parole, quand, un peu plus tard, on le pourra faire en deux ou trois mois?"<sup>4</sup> Instead, it was much better to make use of the natural signs given by the pupil, and to substitute words for them. This indeed seems to have been the general method of education, not only in Glasgow, but in most of the Scottish schools of the time, as an American observer has noted. He reported

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. 1823.

2. "Historical Sketch of Glasgow Instit" 1835.

3. A. Bébien: "Essai sur les Sourds-Muets" (1817), p. 15.

4. *ibid* p.19.

5. Mr. Weld.



that in 1844 the "teaching of articulation is not universal in schools,"<sup>1</sup> but that it was mainly "taught to those who once heard, and who, still, on joining the school, retain some use of speech, and to those who have good voices and a very quick eye."<sup>2</sup> He further noted that "besides the use of natural, conventional, and arbitrary signs, dactylology, or an alphabet upon the fingers, is universally and greatly used in the English, Scottish, and Irish schools."<sup>3</sup>

It is reasonable to suppose that the methods used at Aberdeen were similar to those outlined above. As we have already noted, the first headmaster, Taylor, received his training under Sicard; the second was himself a deaf-mute; and the third had been an assistant to Kinniburgh. In addition, the statements of Weld, quoted above, would seem to confirm that these methods were still in existence in 1844. The curriculum was stated to consist of knowledge of objects English reading and writing, arithmetic, geography, and principles of religion. As was usual elsewhere, the duration of the course was normally 5 years.<sup>4</sup>

In the Edinburgh Day Schools, signs and fingerspelling were the only means of communication,<sup>5</sup> a fact scarcely to be wondered at when we remember that the teacher was a deaf-mute himself.

To summarise the position during this period, then, we may say that the main content of the curriculum was the acquisition of written language, and skill in reading. For this purpose, grammar, religious knowledge, geography, and a certain amount of natural history, provided the main content of the lessons, with the addition, of course, of a considerable amount of arithmetic. Drawing, then an unusual and unpopular subject in ordinary schools<sup>6</sup> had been introduced into the

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1. Report of Weld's tour in 29th Report of American Asylum at Hartford  
 2. *ibid* p.39. (1845) p.37.  
 3. *ibid* p.32. 4. "New Statistical Account of Scotland" (1840), Vol xii  
 5. 3rd Annual Report of Deaf and Dumb Day School (1840) p.56.  
 6. v. Simpson: "Education in Aberdeenshire" who states that "drawing was not favoured" and that in 1866 only 2.6% of the pupils in Aberdeenshire Schools took that subject. p.34.

Glasgow Institution in 1832, and became part of the curriculum at Edinburgh in 1846. The method of instruction was silent i.e. either by signs, fingerspelling, or writing, or a combination of all three; whilst speech-teaching, where it had not disappeared entirely, had at any rate sunk to the status of an exercise for those who had either some residual hearing or retained some of their naturally acquired speech. To their shame, be it said, some schools neglected even this elementary duty, with the result that such pupils ceased to talk. Thus the oral (or partly oral) methods of Braidwood were neglected, (not only in Scotland, be it said,) with the result that the progress of the education of the deaf suffered a severe set-back. Although in 1819 the schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow were using one method, whilst another obtained in Aberdeen; yet within the next ten years the two former schools had practically gone over to the same methods as Aberdeen, so that by the middle of the century it may be said that all the schools in Scotland were working on the same methods, differing only, perhaps, in the individual approach of the local headmaster.

### 3. Institution Life.

Perhaps a brief account of life in the Scottish Institutions will help to complete the picture of the education given at this period. The normal period of instruction was five years, and children were generally not admitted before the age of nine or after the age of fourteen. Although children were sometimes admitted at an earlier age it was not greatly encouraged, partly because they were more difficult to cater for, and partly because their five-year period of instruction would end before they were able to go to work.



In Glasgow the school day began at 10 a.m. and finished at 4 p.m: in Edinburgh it seems to have begun an hour earlier and finished an hour later. However, much work was done outside school hours. In Glasgow the children rose at 7 a.m., the girls doing housework and the boys gardening until 9 a.m. when breakfast was served. After school there was dinner which was followed by more domestic work and gardening until 6 p.m.<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh worked to a similar system and, in addition to cleaning the house, the girls made and washed their own clothes.

The meals, stated to be ample in quantity, were dull in the extreme. "Porridge and Buttermilk to breakfast and supper; Broth and Beef with potatoes and bread and Potato or Peas Soup or Fish with Bread, on alternate days to dinner,"<sup>2</sup> was the dietary of the Edinburgh school which was "approved by the physician."<sup>3</sup>

Such duties and meals were the lot of the vast majority of pupils but there was another class, that of parlour boarders, who fared much better. These came from the "Superior Orders of Society"<sup>4</sup> or those whose parents were sufficiently wealthy to provide a less frugal and stern existence for them. Besides receiving additional education, these pupils had also private bedrooms and generally dined separately or at the headmaster's table. Fees ranged from £25 to £100 per annum according to the accommodation provided and were a useful addition to the headmaster's income, since he was allowed to retain half towards the expenses which he incurred on their behalf.

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1. Report of Glasgow Institution for 1822.
  2. Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1846.
  3. *ibid.*
  4. *ibid* for 1834.

In spite of the fact that honorary physicians were attached to the Institutions, epidemics were fairly common, but up to 1845 only four deaths occurred in the Edinburgh Institution. On the whole, the medical arrangements appear to have been fairly satisfactory at a time when the medical inspection and treatment of school-children as a class were undreamed of.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that school life was uniformly drab. There were brighter and more colourful sides to it. The tediousness of constant learning by rote was interrupted by a constant stream of visitors. Generally, on one day per week, the schools were open to public inspection, and one who availed herself of the opportunity to see this work in Edinburgh was the "benevolent Mrs. Fry."<sup>1</sup> Prizes in the shape of "honorary medals and premiums"<sup>2</sup> were presented for good work, whilst no doubt the culminating joy of the year would be the expedition of the fortunate few who were chosen to go on tour with the headmaster. Then, Kinniburgh, for example, "laid aside the severe schoolmaster for the kind father"<sup>3</sup>, and a pleasant time seems to have been had by all. Glasgow probably initiated the idea of a school outing when the children were given a steamer-trip to Roseneath in return "for their satisfactory conduct at the examination".<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, "institution life" became a term of opprobrium, and rightly so; for the maxim that "Satan finds some evil work for idle hands to do" was ever at the back of the minds of those responsible for the welfare of the children. Furthermore it was considered necessary

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. for 1819.

2. *ibid* for 1818.

3. Atkinson: "Memoirs of my Youth" p.44.

4. Annual Report of Glasgow Instit. for 1837.



to educate those children in relation to the status in society in which God had been pleased to place them, and for that purpose, hard work was felt to be suitable training. This, of course, was in keeping with the current views on strata of society, but nevertheless, it began a mode of life in institutions which long outlived these views and continued well into the present century, and of which traces even yet remain.

#### 4. Vocational Training.

There is one aspect of education which was part of the curriculum at this period which we have hitherto neglected, and that is vocational training. As we have already noted, one of the aims in educating such children was to enable them to live useful lives. This being so, it was natural that the thoughts of those responsible for their education should turn towards fitting the children for a suitable occupation when they left school, and "to enable them to gain their own support by the exertion of well-directed industry".<sup>1</sup>

In the earliest years of the Edinburgh Institution's existence the problem had not arisen, mainly, no doubt, because the first pupils to leave school would not do so before 1814 or 1815. By the following year, however, the committee decided that something ought to be done in this matter and introduced shoemaking for the older boys.<sup>2</sup> Why this trade should have been chosen is not entirely clear, although, no doubt, those responsible for the choice felt that it was one in which deafness was not necessarily a handicap, and it became henceforth a traditional trade to be taught to the deaf. It was further promised that other trades might be introduced later. At the

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. for 1823.

2. *ibid* for 1816.

same time, Mrs. Kinniburgh, wife of the headmaster, and matron of the institution, was asked to give the older girls "house-training" and instruction in sewing. Four boys commenced the instruction in shoemaking and after a year it was pronounced "a great success".<sup>1</sup> The girls were soon given a part to play in this work and learned how to bind shoes. They also did the upholstery work required for the maintenance of the furniture in the house. The typhus epidemic in the spring of 1818 interrupted the trade training and it seems that until the move to the new building at Distillery Park had been completed, there was no resumption of this work, although it was suggested in 1819 that the pupils might be sent out locally for instruction.<sup>2</sup> Nothing came of this suggestion and no more is heard of trade training in Edinburgh until 1826.

Glasgow Institution appears to have given greater consideration to this subject than its eastern counterpart. By the time the school had opened in Barony Glebe in 1821 a printing press had been donated and some of the older boys were immediately instructed in its use.<sup>3</sup> The following year the directors were able to report that instruction was given in "two or three of the ordinary trades",<sup>4</sup> which were not, unfortunately specified. At the same time the girls were being given instruction in needlework, and "household duties", presumably the better to fit them for the future either in their own homes or in paid employment.

By 1826, the workshops which had been provided in the grounds of the new Edinburgh Institution, were occupied by boys receiving

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit. for 1817.
  2.       ibid     for 1819.
  3. Annual Report of Glasgow Instit. for 1822.
  4.       ibid     for 1823.



training in tailoring and shoemaking. Only such boys as remained for an extra year at school (i.e. six, instead of the customary five, years) were given this training. All the girls were taught needlework and "those of an inferior station are qualified by suitable instruction for becoming domestic servants."<sup>1</sup> In 1841, Edinburgh, too, was the proud possessor of a printing press and some instruction in the operation of this was given to the older boys. It is interesting to note that for the next few years the Annual Report was printed on this machine and presumably set up by the pupils. At any rate the issues compare very favourably with those produced commercially both before and after this time. Two years later workshops for carpentry and turning were established,<sup>2</sup> and several boys received instruction in these trades also. In 1845 it was suggested<sup>3</sup> that an "Apprentice Fund" might be started in order to help pupils when they left school. Reluctantly the Directors had to turn down this suggestion through lack of funds - there was still a deficit in the annual balance.

It may be noted that by 1840, when over 200 boys had passed through the Edinburgh Institution, the following occupations were being followed:-<sup>4</sup>

Shoemakers	44	Tailors	35	Farm-servants	17	Weavers	11
Clerks	9	Cabinet-makers	6	Engravers	5	Blacksmiths	5
Labourers	5	Saddlers	3	Masons	3	Cork-cutters	3
Stocking-weavers	3						

Printers, coach-painters, gardeners, sail-cloth makers, block-cutters, and brass-founders - two each.

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Instit for 1834.

2.     ibid             for 1843.

3.     ibid             for 1845.

4.     ibid             for 1840.

Cooper, portrait-painter, landscape-painter, house-painter, silversmith, baker, bookbinder, bleacher, wheelwright, flax-spinner, comb-maker, carpenter, shepherd, turner, and ostler - one each. Surely as varied a selection of trades as one could find among the ex-pupils of any school.

At about the same period Glasgow produced the rather less variegated list of:-<sup>1</sup>

Tailors	17	Shoemakers	10	Seamstresses	12	Dressmakers	11
Farm Servants	11	Servants	6	Bookbinders & Printers	12		
Weavers	10	Carpenters	4				

which does not, of course, distinguish between boys and girls.

The plan of an apprenticeship fund which had been turned down in Edinburgh was taken up by the Directors of the Glasgow Institution. It was decided that trade training in school was uneconomical and that it should therefore be discontinued. In its place a scheme was brought into operation whereby the older pupils were apprenticed to tradesmen and during the period of their apprenticeship they were given an allowance from the Institution of 2/- per week. The types of trade to which the pupils were generally apprenticed under this scheme were those of shoemaker, tailor, weaver, dressmaker, and umbrella-maker.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, there was no further vocational training in Glasgow Institution until nearly the end of the century, when its reintroduction would more properly be described as pre-vocational training. The apprenticeship fund, however, came to an end in 1870.

There are no records concerning what, if any, vocational training was followed at the other schools and institutions in Scotland at this time. It is more than likely that some form of trade training would be given at Aberdeen, although this unfortunately

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L 1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1839.  
2.       ibid               for 1846.





## CHAPTER 5.

### THE PERIOD OF GROWTH (1846-1890)

#### 1. Opening and development of new schools.

In spite of the fact that during the "hungry forties" the funds of the existing institutions were far from healthy and the numbers there showed a steady decline, although improving somewhat in the closing years of the decade, yet the work expanded with the opening of two new institutions - one in Dundee, and one in Edinburgh. The immediate result of this was to increase the number of children being educated by about a third - from about 185 in 1846 to 245 in 1850.

Dundee, as we have already seen, had always been interested in the idea of having a separate institution, and when, on the 9th March 1846, a school was opened by private venture in 15 Meadow Street<sup>1</sup>, support was readily forthcoming. The founders of this school were a Mr and Mrs Alexander Drysdale of whom at least the husband was himself a deaf-mute. Although the possibility has not been before suggested, it is the opinion of the present writer that this was the same Drysdale who had taught in the Edinburgh Day School in St. John Street. We know that in January 1846 the Day School was closed and the pupils were moved over to the Edinburgh Institution. One of the conditions of the amalgamation was that Drysdale, the headmaster of that school, should join the staff of the Institution, but there is no evidence that he ever did so. His name never appears on the list of staff there and so it is pretty certain that he did not, in fact, become a teacher there, or at least not for more than a very short period. This Drysdale was also a deaf-mute and it seems more than

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1. "Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education", Vol.III p.263.



likely that he would prefer to open a school of his own rather than be subservient to the headmaster of the Edinburgh Institution. In any case the possibility of the existence in the same year of more than one deaf-mute named Drysdale capable of instructing the deaf seems rather remote, and the foregoing explanation would seem the more likely.

Whatever their past history, at any rate it is a fact that the Drysdales rented the house at their own expense and opened the school. They quickly found, however, that many of the children who required this special education were of parents who were too poor to pay for it. Drysdale therefore did his best to interest as many townsmen of Dundee as possible in the benefits of his work and, as a result, the Dundee Association for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb was formed in the following year.<sup>1</sup> The funds of this association were used to pay the fees for the education and board of the children of poor parents, but the association had no say in the running of the school which was entirely in the hands of Drysdale himself and remained so until his death. The increase in the number of pupils occasioned by the support of the association resulted in the existing accommodation being overtaxed. Accordingly, in 1848, Drysdale moved his school to Sunnyside House at 15 Bucklemaker Wynd,<sup>2</sup> where it remained for over 20 years.

At about the same time, plans were being made for the opening of another institution for the deaf in Scotland, namely Donaldson's Hospital in Edinburgh. This institution was founded by James Donaldson, an Edinburgh publisher, who bequeathed his property to build and found an hospital for destitute boys and girls. No

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1. "Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education", Vol III p.263.

2. Annual Report of Dundee Institution for 1918 also "Dundee Telegraph" 9th. Nov. 1932.

specific mention of deaf children was made in the deed of foundation, and when the building was commenced in 1841 the idea of admitting such children had not occurred to the Trustees. The credit for such a suggestion would seem to be due to a Mr. George Forbes, one of the gentlemen elected as a governor of the new hospital. According to his own statement<sup>1</sup> his interest in the deaf was aroused when, on a visit to Rome, he met Dr. Howe, the teacher of Laura Bridgman, a deaf, dumb, and blind girl. On his appointment as governor of Donaldson's Hospital, he conceived the idea that some of the places in this new charitable institution might be reserved for the deaf and he accordingly sent a circular letter in June 1847 to the other governors outlining his ideas. Forbes maintained that the deaf, if not included in the Trust Deed, were not specifically excluded. At the same time he pointed out that there were other hospitals for the poor, but that not all the deaf children in Scotland were being educated -- at least 148 were known to be still awaiting admission to an institution. Finally, no change in the plans for the building of the Hospital would be required, and the evidence of the architect, Playfair, who approved of the idea, was adduced.<sup>2</sup>

The idea met with a favourable response, but the governors decided that before taking any further steps in the matter, the opinions of Kinniburgh, who had recently retired from the Edinburgh Institution, and Anderson of the Glasgow Institution, should be sought. Accordingly a number of questions were put to these two experts who,

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1 Letter to John Irving Esq., on the Admission of Deaf and Dumb Children, by George Forbes Esq. 27th June 1847.

2     ibid



in their reply,<sup>1</sup> indicated entire agreement with the proposal. With regard to the suggestion that 75 boys and <sup>75</sup> girls should be admitted, they declared that it would be "the greatest boon that has ever been conferred on the Deaf and Dumb Poor of Scotland".<sup>2</sup> They suggested that the proposed nine years course of instruction would be more than adequate, although were not over-enthusiastic about the admission of children at the age of six since "an intelligent female would be required for the first year to train them after the plan of an infant school".<sup>3</sup> However they gave their blessing to the mixing of deaf and hearing children out of school "under proper surveillance", adding the precaution that teachers of the deaf should be present "to prevent the communication of improper ideas or wicked language."<sup>4</sup>

Fortified by the testimony of the expert witnesses, the governors agreed in September 1847 to admit deaf children. Immediately thereafter, a circular letter<sup>5</sup> was sent to each Parish Minister in the country requesting him to give details of the number of deaf children in the parish as well as the total population and other relevant information. From this it was hoped to gain some idea of the incidence of deafness in the country, and of the probable number of children who would require to be educated in the Hospital and other schools in the country. This was indeed a stroke of genius, for, the figures obtained, inaccurate though they might be, were the first of the kind obtained and may have led to the inclusion of such figures in the succeeding census returns, the first of which began

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| 1. Letter by Kinniburgh & Anderson. in reply to a proposal to devote part of Donaldson's Hospital to the Deaf and Dumb." 23rd. August 1847. | 3. ibid   | 4. ibid |
| 2. Letter by Kinniburgh & Anderson.   | 5. Duplicated copy of Mss Letter dated 15th. Sept. 1847 in existence in Donaldson's Hospital. |         |



four years later. Although the four existing institutions had endeavoured to bring within their separate orbits all the deaf children in the country, yet no attempt had previously been made to find out how many, in fact, there were who required this special education.

On 4th July, 1848<sup>1</sup>, it was resolved that one side of the Hospital containing 96 beds should be set aside for the reception of deaf children. Further regulations were also drawn up: namely that no children should be admitted before the age of seven and that they must leave at fourteen<sup>2</sup>; that a separate committee of five governors entitled the "Committee of Education for Deaf and Dumb Children" should be set up, to whom alone the "master of the deaf and dumb" should be responsible for the education of these children<sup>3</sup>; as well as sundry regulations concerning vacations and the duties of teachers.<sup>4</sup>

All was now ready for the opening of the Hospital and Angus McDiarmid, a teacher from the Old Kent Road School in London, was appointed to take charge of the deaf class.<sup>5</sup> The opening took place in October 1850 and on the 16th of that month fifteen deaf boys, and two days later fifteen deaf girls, chosen from the list of 133 applicants were admitted.<sup>6</sup> By February 1851 this number had increased to 40.<sup>7</sup>

The Hospital was under the control of a House Governor (who until the end of the century was invariably a clergyman or licentiate) who was responsible for the education of the hearing children and all administrative matters in connection with the residence of all the pupils. The education of the deaf children was in the hands of the

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1. "Documents relating to Donaldson's Hospital" p. xiii  
 2. *ibid.* p. xiv. 3. *ibid.* pp. 21 & 24. 4. *ibid.* pp. 71 & 54-6.  
 5. "Quarterly Review of Deaf Mute Education", Vol. iv p. 3.  
 6. R.T. Skinner "Twenty Five Years at Donaldson's Hospital", p. 76.  
 7. *ibid.*



"principal master of the deaf and dumb" who, as we have already noted, owed responsibility for this to the governors direct. In point of fact this dual control seems to have worked well and there is no record of the House Governor making any attempt to interfere in the education of the deaf children. From the point of view of the staff the regulations were more irksome since they entailed attendance at morning chapel, supervision, on a roster, of out of school activities for a period of a week at a time, and part-time attendance during the vacations. In point of fact, these latter were somewhat few, since, of course, the Hospital was meant to be a home for destitute children. Prior to 1872 children were given one week's vacation at the Sacramental preachings in April<sup>2</sup> and one week's vacation at Christmas. But many of the children did not go home and these were required to be "occupied in the schoolroom for not less than two hours daily".<sup>1</sup> This meant that half the staff only were allowed away at one time. After 1872 holidays were fixed at Christmas Day, New Year's Day, a fast day in October, and two weeks in April (in addition to the five weeks summer vacation as laid down in the original regulations of 1851). On Saturdays children over ten could visit their friends in Edinburgh from 9 am. till 6 pm. whilst the younger ones were allowed out on the first and third Saturdays of the month, and could be visited on the others. On Sundays the hearing children attended church twice a day, but the deaf children were only required to attend morning service. In the afternoon they assembled in their classes where they received religious instruction from their own teachers. It is interesting to note that the church at West Coates was built largely as a result of the needs of the Hospital. At first

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1. Don. Hosp. "House Committee Reports" Sept. 1861.

2. ibid. Nov. 1872.



the pupils attended St. George's West, but this proving unsuitable, it was suggested that a new church be built locally. The Trustees contributed £2500 to the cost of this, and in addition sanctioned a donation of £100 annually as seat rent for the children.<sup>1</sup>

In point of fact there is little development to be recorded at Donaldson's Hospital during this period save in matters pertaining to curriculum and method, with which we shall deal in a later section. The funds were more than adequate, the number of children increased (from 40 in 1851 to 118 in 1880), and with them the staff correspondingly. McDiarmid retired in 1863 and was succeeded for a few months by James Tait. He was succeeded by Alfred Large who came from the London Institution and who was to remain as principal teacher of the deaf until his retirement in 1899.

The destitution clause, which was a necessary prerequisite of admission for hearing children, was not enforced to the same degree in respect of deaf applicants, since it was felt that the other existing institutions were unable to cope with the number of children who required this special education, and that if Donaldson's insisted rigidly on this requirement certain children would be deprived of the education which they so desperately needed.

Although the original suggestion had been for a nine years' course, it, in fact, was generally from five to seven years duration, since children were not admitted until the age of seven and had to leave at fourteen. The children were supplied with clothes - the boys a dark blue suit with brass buttons, and the girls a tartan dress - and the conditions of life seem to have been comparable with other

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1. R.T. Skinner; "Twenty-Five Years at Donaldson's Hospital."



institutions of a similar kind. Occasionally deaf, as well as hearing, children tried to run away: they were usually brought speedily back by somewhat crestfallen parents, fearful lest the child would be expelled and therefore revert to becoming a burden on their own slender resources. This was, in fact, the usual punishment for habitual offenders, though flogging was not unknown.

Generally speaking, it was considered that the mixing of deaf and hearing children was advantageous to both: to the deaf, in that it afforded them a preparation for their entry into the hearing world: and to the hearing in helping them to realise the difficulties of some of their less fortunate fellows. This point of view was apparently that of the headmaster (Large) when he stated that "the amalgamation of the deaf and dumb with hearing does not do much to improve them intellectually, but is valuable as it tends to make them readier to enter society when they leave school".<sup>1</sup> The same evidence was adduced in the case of Smyllum Orphanage<sup>2</sup> where the two classes were also mixed.

Before leaving the work of Donaldson's Hospital at this stage, mention might be made of the scare caused by the Report of the Educational Endowments Commission. This body, which had sat for several years, presented its report in 1882 to the effect that the existence of endowed hospitals and schools should be discontinued. They did, however, suggest that deaf children might continue to be admitted as sole beneficiaries of the Donaldson foundation. These

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1. Proceedings of Conference of Headmasters of Institutions (1877) p26 of also Large's evidence before the Royal Commission in 1886 p 548.  
 2. v. infra p.78.



recommendations, which were to be embodied in an Act of Parliament, were rejected by the Scotch Education Department, and so Donaldson's Hospital (as well as the other charities covered by the Commissioners' Investigations) continued as before. One effect, however, of the current belief that the Hospital might have to close down, was that in 1885, for the first time in the history of the school, the number of applications was less than the number of vacancies.<sup>1</sup>

We have already seen that a start had been made with an institution for the education of the deaf in Dundee. Of its future course of development between 1850 and 1890 not very much, unfortunately, is known. In 1866 a Mr. James Key of Lochee bequeathed the residue of his estate for the maintenance and education of poor deaf and dumb children residing in Forfarshire.<sup>2</sup> This was a welcome addition to the funds of the Institution, and under this "Key Bequest" about nine or ten pupils were provided for annually. In 1870 some alterations to the street in which the school was located caused a temporary removal to Provost Road, from which it moved shortly afterwards to a house in Dudhope Bank, Lochee Road which still exists as a residence for the children attending the Dundee School. In 1880, Drysdale, the founder of the school, died, and the directors of the Association took over the school. They appointed as headmaster James Barland who was a nephew of Drysdale and also deaf. He had taught for some time under his uncle at Dundee before going to the Cambrian Institution at Swansea from whence he was recalled to take over the Dundee Institution.<sup>3</sup>

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1. evidence of Large before Royal Commission (Report of Royal Commission on Education of Blind and Deaf Children 1889) p. 554.
  2. Annual Report of Dundee Institution for 1918.
  3. "Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education" Vol III p.263.



Thus, apart from the change in ownership of the school, little, if any change appears to have occurred during the period under consideration. It would seem that the fees charged for maintenance and education were £22 per annum. Mainly because of the lack of funds, although no doubt for other reasons also, the number of children attending the school was never very high and in fact seems to have declined from 30 in 1850 to about 20 in 1880, remaining stationary thereafter for about the next twenty years.

Before going on to consider the foundation of other schools towards the end of this period, it would be advisable to consider what developments had been taking place in the three older institutions. One of the main occurrences at Edinburgh was the resignation of Robert Kinniburgh in 1847 after a period of thirty-six years as headmaster of the institution. Of a stern and religious disposition, Kinniburgh had always taken his duties seriously and although conservative in his ideas had nevertheless had a profound influence on the attitude of the general population of the country to the education of the deaf. He wrote fairly widely on the subject, particularly in his later years, and his opinion was highly regarded and widely sought on any matter pertaining to that subject. His retiral came somewhat in the nature of an anti-climax. Although the details were carefully suppressed, a disagreement with the directors of the Edinburgh Institution over a domestic incident there caused him to offer his resignation, course in which he was supported by most of his staff. The directors applied to Baker, the well-known headmaster of the Yorkshire Institution, for aid, and he recommended James Cook, then at Claremont Institution in Dublin. Cook agreed to come to Edinburgh and a number of new assistants were hurriedly found



to make the school once more workable. This conveniently provided the directors with an opportunity to review the work of the school. They decided that with regard to the children there were two objectives: the communication to them of ideas by means of written language, and the promotion of moral habits of industry, and self-control.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose they agreed to co-operate actively with the headmaster, to introduce any new methods he wished, and to supply him with such materials and staff as he might require. At the same time, the financial position caused them to reduce salaries and make great economies in the management of the household. Such changes, however, as Cook seems to have made belong properly to a discussion of methods, and, after the initial upset, to all outward appearances, the institution pursued the even tenor of its ways. Although he only remained in charge at Edinburgh for six years Cook, nevertheless, seems to have been a tireless worker. In addition to performing the numerous duties attached to his office he managed to find time to edit a magazine known as "The Voice of the Dumb" (of which no copies are now apparently extant) and prepare four text-books for use in the school. These latter were "First Lessons in Scripture History"; "First Lessons in English History"; "A Dictionary of English Verbs and Synonyms"; and a "Graduated Course of Language Lessons". The last-named seems to have been the most popular and was fairly widely used in schools in England as well as at Edinburgh. In the preface he points out that such cut and dried lessons are necessary since "not much can be left to the initiative of the assistants in this country, for they are generally boys or young men of very limited experience."<sup>2</sup> At the same time he shows himself somewhat in advance of his day in a plea for an

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1847.

2. J. Cook: op. cit. pref. p.V.



annual meeting of teachers where methods of instruction &c might be discussed.

After Cook's resignation in 1853 came Rhind, followed by Hutchison in 1861 and Brydon in 1875. The last-named was succeeded for a few months in 1885 by Benson who was dismissed through his "over-zeal in maintaining discipline"<sup>1</sup>, and who was succeeded in the same year by E.A. Illingworth.

Methods, rather naturally, changed considerably with this change in personnel, but, apart from that, developments were slight and unimportant. The opening of Donaldson's Hospital had a very considerable effect on the numbers attending the Institution at Henderson Row, for, quite naturally, poorer parents were not willing to contribute towards the board and education of their children when this could be obtained free at another institution. The immediate result was that by 1853 the number of pupils decreased to 56 (from 70 in 1851) and by 1857 to 45. Although there was a slow increase thereafter the numbers at Henderson Row never reached the 1850 figure again until 1890. Thus, although the total number of pupils being educated in the two institutions was greater then it had been in the one prior to 1850, yet the places available were never fully taken advantage of, and the number of children not receiving education (estimated at 200 in 1850)<sup>2</sup> still remained at an unduly high figure. In spite of rising costs the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution did their best to keep charges down to a minimum, but even so they were forced to increase the annual charge from £8 to £15 in 1838, whilst a further £2 for clothing was added in 1853. The fees of day scholars were increased from 3/- to 5/- per quarter. These figures obtained until 1905.

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1. 'American Annals of the Deaf,' Vol. XXX p. 234.  
 2. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1850.

In order to improve the financial position the old scheme of a summer tour with exhibitions by the headmaster and several pupils was reintroduced in 1849 (after about a ten years' lapse). A repetition in 1853 had the effect of increasing the number of auxiliary societies by 30<sup>1</sup> to which was added another 20 the following year.<sup>2</sup> Apart from a few gaps, these annual tours took place fairly regularly from 1863 to 1889, and provided a useful, though not very large, source of income.

During the earlier part of the period the Glasgow Institution was still under the expert guidance of Duncan Anderson. The Institution was quietly and steadily expanding and soon came the obvious plea for more accommodation. However, as some indication of the numbers of children requiring special education was a prerequisite of further planning, the Directors, inspired no doubt by the prior experiment of the Directors of Donaldson's Hospital, sent a circular letter to the clergy of the West of Scotland. About 50% of these replied and the indications were that at least 80 children under the age of 12 were not receiving any instruction.<sup>3</sup> Funds, of course, as well as accommodation were a limiting factor, but in order that some necessitous cases might receive help, the normal fee of £15 was reduced in certain circumstances to £8, whilst children whose homes were in Glasgow were admitted for £6 per annum.<sup>4</sup> As a temporary measure to meet the growing numbers, four or five rooms were added to the existing premises in 1858. Two years later plans were drawn up for a new school in the country and the Directors expressed the

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1854
  2. - do - for 1855
  3. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1851
  4. - do - for 1852



hope that "the liberality, of their fellow-citizens will enable them to move to larger premises".<sup>1</sup> Not only was a removal to new premises desirable on the grounds of the need for more accommodation, but also on health grounds. The old Barony Glebe, once a fine open area, had, in the course of time, been surrounded by tall buildings, and the school was now "in the midst of noxious exhalations from surrounding works".<sup>2</sup> Little, however, was done in the matter for a further year or two, until in 1865 a sub-committee was appointed to raise funds and sell the old school when the new one was completed. Eventually they found a site of about three acres at Langside and the foundation stone of the new school was laid on October 20th, 1864. The building was in the florid Italian style and was designed by the architect Salmon. The accommodation was to be for 150 pupils, and the new building was formally opened on May 22nd, 1868, having cost about £18,000.<sup>3</sup> Of this, £8000 was raised by subscriptions and £5000 came from the sale of the old building in Barony Glebe. The school thus opened with a deficit of £5000 but the prosperity of the city at this period enabled the necessary funds to be raised in quite a short period.

Having seen the children settle down for a year or so in the new school, Anderson retired, after having served in the school for 43 years. As well as being a fine and vigorous teacher, Anderson seems to have had a friendly disposition, and he made in the city many useful contacts whose influence and interest in the work of the school were of inestimable value to it and helped to keep it in the public eye. But Anderson's interest in his pupils did not cease when they left school and he was always anxious to find suitable employment for them.

1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1861

2. - do - for 1862 p.5.  
3. - do - for 1868

3. - do - for 1868



According to one of his assistants,<sup>1</sup> he could be seen on Saturday mornings making a round of various workshops where his pupils were apprenticed in order to see how they were getting on and encourage them in their work. As a result, he rarely had any difficulty in placing a pupil, more often than not the situation was ready for the pupil when he left school, whilst Anderson was able to judge which kind of employment suited which pupils best. In addition to such activities Anderson can claim the honour of having been the first European teacher of the deaf to visit the American schools..<sup>2</sup> This he did in the summer of 1853, and although the intense heat curtailed his activities somewhat, nevertheless he was just as pleased and interested in what he saw as the American teachers were at the idea of having a teacher come from Britain to see what they were doing.

Anderson's methods of instruction were so peculiar to himself that on his retiral the Directors decided to appoint John Thomson, his principal assistant, as headmaster. Thomson continued the Anderson tradition at first, although, as we shall see in a later section, this was somewhat modified in view of what was happening elsewhere. He remained as headmaster until the end of 1890, and the major changes during this period were mainly in the realm of methods of instruction. One or two smaller points, however, might be noted. The School Board of Glasgow, created by the Education Act of 1871, took its obligations under that Act fairly seriously, and when some deaf and dumb children were brought to its notice, sent them to the Institution.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of 1885, however, it decided that day instruction as an

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1. John Clyne in "Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education" Vol.1 p.342.
  2. "Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education" Vol.1 p.343 also "American Annals of the Deaf" Vol. VI. p.117.
  3. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1875.



alternative to residence might be given to children falling within its purview. Accordingly the Board requested the Directors of the Institution either to send a teacher to one of the Board Schools where the deaf children might be gathered, or to admit day pupils into the Institution. The Directors refused to do either on the grounds that the mere fact of residence was an integral part of the education of the deaf, whilst in any case the Board had authority to appoint a qualified teacher of the deaf to their own staff.<sup>1</sup> There, in the meantime, the matter seems to have rested, and the next action, as we shall see later, was taken, not by the Glasgow School Board, but by the Govan Parish School Board.

Further amenities in the shape of a swimming-bath (1881) and a gymnasium (1883) were added to the school: so that the physical well-being as well as the intellectual development of the pupils was beginning to be well catered for. A fire in 1888 caused a minor panic but the damage/<sup>done</sup>was not very great (about £500) and the work of the school was uninterrupted.

The obscurity with which the work in Aberdeen was carried on in the first half of the century is in no way dispelled during this period. Weir retired from the headmastership in 1857 and was succeeded by Robert Scott - an assistant from Donaldson's Hospital - who in turn was succeeded by Franklin Bill from Doncaster in 1859. During the latter's tenure of office an experiment was made in admitting day pupils, but the numbers involved were so few that no conclusion could be arrived at on the merits or otherwise of such a plan. Bill, at any rate, did not think much of the idea and considered it was detrimental to both classes.<sup>2</sup> When Bill resigned in 1881, he was succeeded by Mr. A. Pender

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1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1885.

2. Conference of Headmasters of Institutions 1877 p.27.

who remained headmaster of the Institution until 1919. His rather peculiar upbringing undoubtedly had some effect on his methods at Aberdeen, for, a hearing child born of deaf parents, he did not learn to use his voice until the age of eight when he entered Donaldson's Hospital. As his parents could not speak they used signs, and it was with these that young Pender used to communicate until he was found at school to have normal hearing and encouraged to use his voice. A man with such a background would obviously find it difficult to adapt himself to the oral methods coming into vogue when he took office at Aberdeen.

The number of pupils at the Institution rose to 31 in 1850 but thereafter declined somewhat until it remained fairly stationary about the 20 mark. Fees, which were £16 per annum in 1840 remained fixed at that figure until the end of the period, whilst such day pupils as did attend the Institution were charged £1 10/- per quarter.

During the second half of the period under consideration a new institution for the education of the deaf arose. This was Smyllum Orphanage near Lanark. Begun in 1854 by the Sisters of Charity as a home for Roman Catholic Orphans, it developed by fortuitous circumstances into an institution for Roman Catholic Blind and Deaf children. Apparently, after the Orphanage had been in existence for a few years it was found that some of the children who had been admitted were deaf. None of the Sisters had had any experience in dealing with such children, and accordingly in 1860 one of them was sent to London for a few months training at the oral school for the deaf conducted by Mr. Van Praagh. Having once had their appetite whetted, as it were, for this specialised branch of education, the



Sisters deliberately sought out deaf children who required instruction and settled them in the Orphanage, where the former devoted much of their time and energy to this work. In 1870 another Sister was sent for instruction to the Catholic Institution for the Deaf at Cabra, Dublin. The number of children increased and by 1880 had reached a total of 27. Like all similar institutions, lack of funds was the main hampering factor affecting rapid development. Although the managers of the Orphanage did their best to collect subscriptions, it was not until the Board of Guardians made an allocation of £12 per annum for each child under instruction that the finances were put on anything like a sound footing.

This contribution by the Board of Guardians requires some further explanation. Under the Poor Law Act of 1845 (8&9 Vic. c.83 s. 47) the parochial board in each parish was empowered to contribute towards the maintenance of deaf and dumb children within their bounds, from the funds raised for the relief of the poor. This of course meant that only deaf children of pauper parents could be so aided, but even in their case the Boards were loth to disburse the money. In 1860, however, the Board of Supervision issued a circular to Boards of Guardians "as to the Education of Deaf and Dumb Pauper Children and the Instruction of Blind Pauper Children."<sup>1</sup> This pointed out that such an amount of education as was necessary to fit these children for the performance of their religious and moral duties, and might enable them to become not only innocuous but useful members of the community, was a part of the relief to which pauper children were by

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1. For notice of this circular and the subsequent summary of its contents I am indebted to T. Ferguson: "The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare" p. 296.



law entitled. The Board of Supervision recognised that the appropriate educational facilities could be offered only by special means of instruction and pointed out that parochial boards were under an obligation to provide this if such facilities existed in their parishes. Furthermore the parochial boards were enjoined to provide the children with the necessary special education both on moral and economic grounds, even when it involved making suitable arrangements outwith the parish.

Many parish boards did in fact meet their obligations towards these children, but in the Poor Law Act of 1862 (25 & 26 Vic. c.43) the matter was clarified by laying down that deaf and dumb children might be sent to certified institutions and paid for at a rate not exceeding that which would have been charged for maintenance at a workhouse. Again the terms of the Act rendered its operation valueless, for few institutions were willing to be "certified" in order to be able to take pauper children at a rate which was usually considerably below that which it cost the institution to maintain and educate them. In 1868, however, the Poor Law Act of that year ( 31 & 32 Vic. c. 122) removed the limit of payment and also the need for institutions to be certified. The main difficulty about such an act was that able-bodied parents, however poor they might be, were often unwilling to take advantage of it as it meant being stigmatised as paupers. Although it was allowable *de iure* to defray the cost of such education to able-bodied parents, yet *de facto* it was not done without the stigma of pauper being applied.<sup>1</sup> However, in spite of such criticisms the fact remains that these Poor Laws did provide for the education of pauper deaf children. That they did not provide for other poor children was not perhaps the fault of the Acts

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1. Evidence of Sir Henry Craik before Royal Commission on Education of Blind and Deaf Children. Vol 1 p. 740.



so much as that of a widespread opinion which would grant only indoor relief to the poor and needy, and did not consider, in an age of laissez-faire, that there were any obligations towards the less fortunate members of the community or that help might be given outside the workhouse. By 1887 it was reported<sup>1</sup> that there were 83 children in Scottish schools for the deaf receiving assistance from the poor rates at a rate which varied from £8 - £16 per child per annum.

## 2. Day Schools for the Deaf.

We have already noted the existence of three day schools for the deaf; but the provision of such schools was not popular. It was, of course, obviously an uneconomic proposition except in the larger centres of population, for the numbers were too small to admit either of any degree of classification or of financial solvency. Furthermore, the headmasters of the institutions, who were the recognised authorities on the subject, were almost unanimously against their inception since they claimed that residence was an essential part of the education of the deaf child. They pointed out that the child's need for language could only be fully met if he was in charge of a teacher for the greater part of his waking hours, and that therefore much of his education was carried on outside school hours. A less cogent argument to the effect that the deaf child was often misunderstood or excessively spoiled at home, and that he therefore needed training in good habits and behaviour by a teacher, was also adduced. Whatever the arguments for and against residence may be, the fact remains that the

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1. Report of Royal Commission on Education of Blind & Deaf Children Vol.1. p. 740.

majority of deaf children have been, and still are, educated in residential schools. Owing, however, to the fact either that these residential schools could not supply the necessary education to all the children in need of it, or to the desire of certain parents to retain their children at home, day schools had, in fact, to come into being.

The immediate occasion of the beginning of the day-school movement in Scotland may be traced to the Education Act of 1872. This Act, in which no mention of deaf children was made, laid down that it was the duty of every parent to provide elementary education for his or her children. School Boards were to be established in every parish to provide the means whereby this might be accomplished, and, at the same time were given the necessary authority to compel the parents to comply with the requirements of the Act. Although no mention of deaf children was made, they were not specifically excluded from the regulations, and therefore, legally, the parents of a deaf child were bound to provide him with elementary education. On the other hand, it was clearly understood that no school board would attempt to apply the law of compulsory attendance in the case of such children, for no sheriff would have upheld their case and made a conviction.<sup>1</sup>

A few School Boards, however, took their obligations seriously and decided that it was their duty to provide educational facilities for deaf children where these did not already exist. The action of the Glasgow School Board in this connection in 1885 has already been noted, but it was forestalled by several years by the Greenock Burgh School Board. In 1877 this body decided to enquire into

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1. v. evidence of Sir Henry Craik in Report of Royal Commission on Education of Blind and Deaf Vol III p. 732.



the number of children within its area who required special instruction. Six were apparently found, but it was decided that no provision meantime should be made locally ("as other towns do not do this") but that assistance would be provided for poor parents to educate their children in Edinburgh or Glasgow.<sup>1</sup> As far as the School Board was concerned, the matter rested there for the next few years, but, in point of fact, a day school was established privately in Greenock in 1878. This was the work of Alexander Graham Bell<sup>2</sup> (more celebrated as the inventor of the telephone) who obtained permission to start a class in one of the rooms of Greenock Academy.<sup>3</sup> Four children attended the class, which was supervised by Bell himself and had as a teacher a special articulation teacher whom Bell had arranged to come from America for this purpose. In addition to mixing with the hearing children of the Academy in the playground, the deaf children joined them for instruction in such subjects as writing, drawing, and sewing.

Whilst this class was still in existence, the School Board had meanwhile been making investigations into methods of instruction

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1. Greenock Burgh School Board Minutes July 1877 No. 13.

2. Although not specifically relevant to the education of the Deaf in Scotland, one of the contributions of the Bell family to the education of the deaf may be briefly noted. It was - in Edinburgh - that Alex. Melville Bell (the father of Graham Bell) invented and developed his system of "Visible Speech" - a phonetic alphabet whose symbols indicated the positions of the different organs of speech in the production of each sound. It was in Edinburgh that the first public demonstrations of the use of this system were made with Graham Bell acting as assistant to his father. "Visible Speech" was never tried out with deaf children in Scotland, but was used successfully, first of all at a private school for deaf children in London, and later in America, where it had a tremendous influence on the teaching of articulation and made possible the rapid spread of the oral system throughout that country.

3. Fay: "Histories of American Schools for the Deaf," Vol. III p.10. also "Greenock Telegraph" 14th Aug. 1948.



employed elsewhere (London, Smyllum, and Glasgow) and at length decided in November 1882 to open a school of its own. Application was made to the training college at Ealing<sup>1</sup> for a teacher, and when this had been successful early in the following year, it was decided to open the school on September 1st. 1883.<sup>2</sup> A room was set aside for the deaf class in Glebe School and the children from Bell's class in the Academy were taken over (Bell himself having returned to America) as well as a few other children. Fees for local children were fixed at 2/- per month, whilst pupils coming from outwith the Burgh were charged £1 5/- per quarter. By 1887 the school had grown to 13 pupils of whom 9 were born deaf, 1 had lost his hearing after acquiring speech, 2 had no speech because of physical deformities, and 2 had defects of vision!<sup>3</sup>

In 1885 Dundee School Board also decided to provide for the deaf children in its area, and accordingly in that year started a class. Although there was, of course, a local institution, dissatisfaction was felt by some with the methods employed there and it was considered that more freedom would be obtained if there was a school under the control of the School Board. A teacher was obtained from the training college at Fitzroy Square<sup>4</sup> and from the beginning work was carried out on pure oral lines. In June 1846, and again in the following year, a public examination of the work of the pupils was held in the Guild Hall at which the Director of Fitzroy Square Training College, Mr. Van Praagh, presided, giving on each occasion a lecture explaining the main features of the system of education

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1. V. infra p. 99.

2. Greenock Burgh School Board Minutes Oct. 1882 no.4.

Nov. 1882 nos. 4 & 5.

March 1883 no. 14.

3. Minutes of Greenock Burgh School Board Feb. 1887 no.5.

4. v. infra p. 99.



being adopted.<sup>1</sup> By 1889 the numbers in the school had grown to about ten or twelve, and the Upper Hall of Gilfillan Memorial Church was taken over for the use of the school.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Glasgow School Board had made tentative enquiries regarding the establishment of a day school in 1885, nothing further was done in the matter. However, in the following year, the parish School Board of Govan was more or less compelled to set up its own class for deaf children. At the School Board election in 1885 some of the ratepayers raised the question of the education of deaf children and in October of the same year a memorial was presented to the board showing that twelve children were not receiving education, whilst seven of the parents of children belonging to the parish who were in residential schools, were desirous that they should live at home. The Board, therefore, agreed to start a special class, a teacher from the Glasgow Institution was secured to take charge, and, on 6th. August 1886, the class commenced work in Copeland Road Public School.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the teacher had to resign on account of illness after a few weeks, and, until a successor could be found, the class was discontinued. Another teacher from the Glasgow Institution eventually agreed to take charge of the class, and at length it got properly under weigh. By 1890 there were about ten pupils, whilst the teacher was given a pupil-teacher to assist her.<sup>4</sup> It would seem that the head of the school was responsible for the general administration and discipline of the class whilst the teacher in charge had a free hand

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1. "Quarterly Review of Deaf Mute Education", Vol 1 p.131.
  2. Minutes of Dundee School Board 3rd June 1889 p.59.
  3. v. evidence of George Crichton in "Report of Royal Commission on Blind and Deaf", Vol.III p.557.
  4. Log Book of Copeland Road Public School.

with regard to curriculum and method. Obviously this division of authority was a weakness in such a system, and, where there was a clash of personalities, friction was almost inevitable.

### 3. Curriculum and Methods.

Although, at the beginning of the period under consideration, the curriculum and methods employed in schools for the deaf showed little development from those obtaining in the latter part of the previous period, yet during the period, events occurred which were of the profoundest importance in the realm of method. In the 'seventies' the "oral" method slowly came into vogue and, although its application was at first limited and gradual, nevertheless its introduction (or re-introduction?) had a tremendous effect on the future development of the education of deaf children. Before, however, we consider its appearance in Scotland, it will be necessary to indicate the general course of development in methods and curriculum prior to that time, and then to consider how "oralism" as a system arose.

It is to be expected that the instruction offered in the 'forties' would not differ greatly from that of the 'fifties' and 'sixties,' and such in fact was the case. The subjects reported as taught were practically identical, and it is apparent that it was considered that a knowledge of them was adequate for the fulfillment of the aims of educating such children. These were the communication of ideas by means of language, a knowledge of the Scriptures and the tenets of the Christian Faith, an ability to do arithmetical calculations, an acquaintance with a heterogeneous collection of facts about History, Geography, and Natural History. Such being the



aims of education, the curriculum is readily understandable. In 1849 it was laid down as reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, history, drawing, and "above all" Scripture, in the Glasgow school.<sup>1</sup> In the same year in Edinburgh it was put, at greater length, as the English Language including English Grammar in minutest detail; then the various branches of General Knowledge, including lessons on Man, objects that meet the eye, different Trades, Natural History, History of England, Geography, and Arithmetic; and, finally, Religious Knowledge.<sup>2</sup> When we consider that under the Revised Code of 1862 instruction in ordinary schools was confined almost entirely to the "three R's" we can assess the work being done for deaf children at its proper value. Not until the New Scotch Code of 1886 were such subjects as Geography and History included in the normal curricula.

Mention has already been made (in a previous chapter) of the early introduction of drawing into the Edinburgh and Glasgow Institutions. It did not become popular in most elementary schools in the country until the 'sixties,' and therefore great credit is due to those who saw its value in the education of the deaf. In 1852 Edinburgh had a special drawing master who attended the school twice a week to give lessons. Three years later Glasgow tried out the experiment of sending some of the pupils out to the Government School of Design for special lessons. In 1862 eight of the Glasgow pupils attending the latter received prizes, whilst in 1866, twenty-four Edinburgh pupils received prizes for drawing at the School of Art under the Board of Manufacturers. The following year the drawings of some of

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1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1849.

2. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1849.



the Edinburgh pupils were sent to the Science and Art Department at South Kensington for examination, and all received a mark of satisfactory or higher.<sup>1</sup> This, of course, was only the beginning of such work, but it does indicate the high standard of the work that was being achieved, and evidences the fact that here, at least, was a branch of education in which the deaf could meet hearing children on equal terms. Drawing seems to have been introduced into the curriculum at Donaldson's Hospital about this time, for in 1867 we find that the desks were to be specially fitted for drawing, whilst in 1870 the drawing master was required to give separate drawing lessons to the deaf pupils.<sup>2</sup>

Physical Education, although not to become general in ordinary schools for forty years yet, had, in a limited way, found a place in the deaf schools. In the early 'sixties' at Donaldson's Hospital drill classes for the boys were started and lessons were given by an ex-army drill serjeant. The same practice obtained at Henderson Row from 1865, although in the previous year this school had had a gymnasium fitted up, and the boys were given lessons by a Captain Roland. Glasgow did not have a gymnasium until 1882, but it is more than likely that outdoor drill lessons were given for some time prior to this on the same system as in Edinburgh.

Swimming was begun as a course of instruction at Henderson Row in 1870, when the boys were taken for lessons to the public baths. In 1881 the Glasgow School erected its own swimming-bath, and this was followed by a similar event at Henderson Row in 1894. From the earliest years of the establishment of Donaldson's Hospital, the children who did not go home for the summer vacation were taken in carts down to the

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1. Evidence of the above successes and experiments in drawing will be found in the Reports of the respective institutions under the years mentioned.

2. Donaldson's Hospital - House Committee Reports.



sea at Granton, twice a week, to bathe. This may not have involved actual instruction in swimming, but it was most certainly healthy exercise.

The following table, taken from evidence collected by the Royal Commission in 1886, gives some interesting information as to the amount of time spent by the children in school, and shows the great variety in the length of the school day from school to school:-

	Weekly total of hours of instruction.
Aberdeen Institution	32
Dundee Institution	21
Henderson Row	30
Donaldson's Hospital	37½
Glasgow Institution	44

On the whole, the length of the school day was considerably greater than it is to-day, although Dundee was a notable exception, whilst the Glasgow Institution seems to have worked excessively long hours judged even by the current standards. Twenty years previously the Edinburgh Institution worked to an equally long time-table, which was approximately as follows<sup>1</sup> :-

6 a.m.	Children rise
6.30 - 8	School
9.30 - 12	School
12 - 2	Drill, dinner, and play
2 - 4	School
4.30 - 6.30	Trade and Sewing Lessons
6.30 - 8.0	Supper, lessons, and play
8.0	Children retire.

The time-table of Donaldson's Hospital in 1873 gives a

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1. "Scotsman" for 1864. Series of Articles on "Charities of Edinburgh" No. xiv.

more detailed account of how the children spent their time:-<sup>1.</sup>

### 2nd Class.

	8-45-9-15	9.15-10.15	10.15-10.45	12-1	2-3	3-3.30	3.30-4
Mon.	Children say Sunday less. Say nouns	Dictation	Children ask Questions	Questions and Writing	Arith	Nouns	Object Less.
Tues	Object Less. Catechism	"	Easy	"	"	Verbs	"
Wed.	Verbs & Object Less.	Writing Exercises	Writing Exercises	Writing Exercises	Old Test, Quest -ions	Expln Chap. of Bible	Relig. Lesson & Catechm
Thurs	Relig. Nouns Catechm	Dictation	Misc. Questns	Children ask ques- tions. Writng	Arith.	Adjec tives	Object Lesson
Frid	Adjs.Objt. Lesson Geogy.	Writing Excs	Writing Excs	Writing Excs	"	Learn Excs	Learn Excs

In addition; Sundays: Preparation for Church 9.15-10 a.m.  
 New Testament Lessons &c 11-12.30 a.m.  
 Learn Bible Lesson 2-4  
 5-30-6.30

Boy's & Girls' Preparation every evening except Friday

<u>Friday</u> :	Senior Division Draw Maps	} 7-8 p.m.
	Junior Division Drawing	
<u>Thursday</u> :	Senior Division Reading Lesson	7-8 p.m.
<u>Tuesday</u> :	Girls' Drill	5-6 p.m.
	Boys' Drill	4.30-5 p.m.
<u>Saturday</u> :	Boys' Drill	5-5.30 p.m.
	Girls' Drill	8.15-8.45 a.m.
		8.45-9.15 a.m.

It is evident that by sheer hard and unremitting application to the task of learning a fairly closely circumscribed body of language, it would be possible to cover the ground in a period of five or six years, given such a time-table as some of the above examples.

1. Report of Royal Commission on Endowed Schools & Hospitals (Scotland) 1873. Vol.1. p. 627.



Whilst modern educators would recoil in horror from such a programme, we cannot but, in passing, express our admiration for the pupils and teachers who devoted themselves to such Herculean labours, however misdirected those efforts might be.

It has already been noted that Vocational Training in Glasgow ceased with the establishment of the Apprentice Fund in 1846. Apparently some gardening was done from time to time, but this was probably only a form of cheap labour, and gave little training, if any, to the boys participating. In any case, there was little anxiety on the part of the Directors in connection with this matter, for it was found that "all pupils who leave find suitable employment".<sup>1</sup> Nor does it appear that any such training was given either at Aberdeen or Dundee, although in the latter institution girls assisted with the housework (i.e. made beds, swept and cleaned rooms) which may have had some value for those destined to enter domestic service, whilst the boys tidied up the grounds and outhouses and did some small tasks in the garden.<sup>2</sup>

At Donaldson's Hospital, Large was of the opinion that there should be no vocational training until after the age of 14, since the pupils required all the time at their disposal up to that age for the learning of language.<sup>3</sup> As children were not allowed to remain at the Hospital after the age of 14, it is quite evident that vocational training was never considered for them. The consequence of this state of affairs was that the only vocational training given in Scotland at

- 
1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1882.
  2. Annual Report of Dundee Institution for 1894.
  3. Evidence given before Royal Commission on Blind and Deaf. Vol. III.  
p. 548.

this period was at the Edinburgh Institution in Henderson Row.

In 1847, when Cook took over the headmastership, it was decided that trade training should begin again. It was suggested, however, that as well as having instructors to teach the trades, the children should be supervised during their training by the teaching staff, so that they would not get into bad habits out of school. It was declared that deaf pupils often do not succeed at trades because of "idleness and bad-temper",<sup>1</sup> and that therefore measures must be taken to correct this while they were still under training at school. By the following year the training had begun and printing, tailoring, and shoemaking were taught. (Those boys who didn't have this training were given picks and shovels to prepare the ground for a vegetable garden!) In addition, a small apprentice fund was started, and three or four boys were apprenticed to various trades when they reached the age of fourteen. Carpentry seems to have been added to the list of trades in 1851, and the following year an industrial superintendent was appointed. It was then laid down that the boys should remain at school until they were 18, spending the last four years in vocational training with the exception of a daily two-hour period in school. Girls, however, were to leave at 14, but were given some training in Cookery and Domestic Work prior to that age. When the wielders of picks and shovels had completed their work, there was a useful vegetable garden requiring attention, whilst to add to the variety a cow and several pigs were quartered in the grounds.<sup>2</sup> After this tremendous burst of enthusiasm for trade training, it began to take a

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1847.  
 2. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1852.



rather less important place in the curriculum. In 1855 the hours of instruction were limited to three per day (4 p.m. to 7 p.m.) and it would appear that not many pupils availed themselves of the opportunity to remain at school until they were 18. However, the industrial department remained in being and much good work was done there, although by 1860 carpentry seems to have dropped out of the scheme to be followed by printing in 1868. Towards the end of this period the hours of instruction for vocational training were halved.

No vocational training of any sort was undertaken in the day schools.

When we turn to the methods of instruction employed, it is clear that, during the third quarter of the century, they varied considerably from school to school. In spite of this variation in matters of detail, they had nevertheless one common feature - they were all silent methods of instruction. It is true that in 1853 at the annual examination of the pupils of the Edinburgh Institution, four children were presented who could speak and lipread to limited extent<sup>1</sup>, (the first since about 1820) but there is no evidence that they were all congenitally deaf children, nor does the experiment appear to have been continued. Large, the headmaster of Donaldson's Hospital from 1863, claimed to use what he called the "combined" method.

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1863, also "Proceedings of Conference of Headmasters," (1877) p 97, where Rhind himself stated: "When I went to the Edinburgh Institution, no articulation was taught, but I introduced it and one or two of the children were found to have very good voices. There was one boy who was born deaf and dumb....."



By this method, it was stated, children spent a certain amount of time learning articulation, but the main method of instruction was by means of signs, fingerspelling, and writing. This "combined" method was said to be the true Scottish method, having been derived from Thomas Braidwood, via Watson and the London Institution. It may be that it had its origins in the methods of Braidwood, but it had been so distorted by the passage of time as to become hardly recognizable. The present writer would maintain that Braidwood's approach was through speech, although possibly not entirely through that medium, for he supplemented it by writing and also fingerspelling. But, in the course of time, less stress was laid on speech as a method of instruction and more on the fingerspelling and writing, whilst signs crept in to supplement the dearth of language. Speech, therefore, from being a method of instruction (along with its necessary concomitant lipreading) deteriorated into an accomplishment which was included in the curriculum to a less and less degree until in most cases it disappeared altogether. That Large, and probably McDiarmid before him, brought this tradition from London to Donaldson's is not in question, but if Braidwood's method is to be called "combined", then it was a much emasculated "combined system" which was used in the Hospital. Having expressed this personal opinion, which has been arrived at after a careful study of the available evidence, it is necessary to add that Donaldson's Hospital was the one school in Scotland where speech, to however limited a degree, was taught at this time. When children were admitted to the Hospital teaching was begun by means of the manual alphabet and pictures, followed by writing. Conventional signs were also learned (for this purpose a deaf teacher was kept on the staff<sup>1</sup>)

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1. v. evidence of Large before the Royal Commission on Blind & Deaf (1889) Vol. 3 p. 554.



and these signs used to explain written language. Written language and the manual alphabet were the main ways in which the children were taught to express themselves grammatically, and the standard of work attained was high. Articulation was taught to a varying extent depending on the capabilities of the pupils in that direction, but since Large was not a whole-hearted believer in its value as a means of communication, it is evident that the success of this teaching would be somewhat qualified. He pointed out himself that the children did not use their speech when they left school.

At the other side of Edinburgh, the Institution was using rather different methods. After Rhind's brief excursion into some teaching of speech, he was succeeded in 1861 by Hutchison who worked on the "French" system. This was based on De L'Epee's sign and manual method using a single-handed alphabet. Such a method of instruction was almost a necessity in the then condition of the school, for there were only three teachers to about sixty pupils. It was the necessity of having to deal with large classes that had caused De L'Epee to elaborate this method, and it was under similar conditions that it was used at Edinburgh. Other methods of instruction were recognised by the Directors of the Institution to exist, but they were condemned out of hand.<sup>1</sup> In any case the linguistic results achieved by Hutchison were of a sufficiently high standard to warrant the confidence of the Directors (who, after all, had generally little knowledge about education in general and that of the deaf in particular) in the methods of instruction which he employed.

In Aberdeen, instruction seems to have been entirely confined to silent methods. It is possible that Scott took the "combined Method"

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1872.



of Donaldson's with him to Aberdeen when he went there in 1857, but there is no evidence of it being practised there. In any case his stay of two years was too short for any innovations to have had much effect. Bill, who succeeded him, came from Doncaster and probably followed methods similar to those used by Cook in Edinburgh who had also been trained there. These were a combination of signs, fingerspelling, and writing.

The methods of instruction used at Dundee were largely conditioned by the fact that both the headmasters who guided the fortunes of the Institution from its inception until 1902 were themselves deaf. Any speech teaching was thus out of the question and silent methods prevailed there until the beginning of this century.

At Glasgow, Anderson had long since given up his youthful enthusiasm for the teaching of speech, and in later life was said to have "deplored the years he had wasted in teaching articulation".<sup>1</sup> His methods of instruction appear to have been mainly by means of fingerspelling and writing, although he did not eschew signs where they seemed necessary. In fact, he is said to have invented some "symbolical signs" in order to show the arrangement of parts of speech in a sentence, e.g. signs for an indefinite article, an adjective, a noun, a verb in the past tense, a preposition, an indefinite article, and a noun in the objective case.<sup>2</sup> Thus a stock form of sentence pattern was evolved. His usual method, however, was to start by associating pictures with the fingerspelled names and the written word. Once a stock of nouns was obtained, the child then learned adjectives, verbs, the number of nouns, and articles. These were

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1. Letter by his former assistant John Clyne in "Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education" Vol.1. p. 387.

2. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1856.



conveyed by means of gesture and practised by writing and fingerspelling. The most difficult classes of words to learn, it was claimed, were relative pronouns and conjunctions. "After this tolerable amount of language is learned, information is imparted by it, and this occupies six to eight years".<sup>1</sup>

On Anderson's retiral in 1870, Thomson, his senior assistant, took over his methods and continued with them until 1876 when the increasing attention being paid to the new methods being tried out in the South, caused the directors of the Glasgow Institution to take stock of the situation. Before considering the Scottish reaction to this, it will be necessary to examine very briefly what these methods were and how they came to be introduced into England.

"Oralism", or the teaching of deaf children by means of speech and lipreading had, as has already been pointed out, to all intents and purposes, died out in Great Britain. It had, however, remained the principal method of instruction in Germany, and the system therefore became known throughout the world as the "German" system. Samuel Heinicke, a contemporary of Braidwood and De L'Epee, may be said to have originated the system in that country. His methods were similar to those of Braidwood in Scotland, and, incidentally, his school at Leipsig, opened in 1778, was the first state school in the world for the education of the deaf, being under the control of the state of Saxony. Heinicke's system was continued by Graser who taught at Bayreuth from 1821 to 1841 and who also had the distinction of being the first to experiment with deaf children attached to a normal hearing school. But the man who did most to crystallize the "German" system, basing his

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1. "How the Mind of the Child Deaf and Dumb received Instruction" - an appendix to the Annual Report of the Glasgow Institution for 1863.



work on the ideas of Graser, was Friedrich Moritz Hill. Hill had been trained under Pestalozzi and he adapted his master's "mother's method" to the education of deaf children. He thus attempted to associate language with objects and actions, and believed in speech as the basis of language. It is true that he considered natural gestures to be necessary in the early stages of education, but these were dropped as soon as speech was sufficiently developed. This system spread to Holland also, where it was carried out with great success, notably at the school at Rotterdam.

Such, in very brief outline, was the "German System" in the 'fifties' and 'sixties,' at the point when its influence began to spread beyond its country of origin. Its appearance in England may be dated from 1860 when a wealthy Jewish merchant of Manchester sought a tutor for his deaf-mute daughter. His friends found for him, Mr. Van Aasche who had been trained at Rotterdam, and who agreed to come to Manchester where he opened a private school for deaf children, teaching them by means of this "German" system.<sup>1</sup> A year or two later he transferred his private school to London.

In 1866, the Jewish School, which had been founded in London in the previous year, decided to adopt this same method of education, and engaged for that purpose a Mr. Van Praagh who had also been trained in the school at Rotterdam. The method proved so successful that, in 1871, an "Association for the Oral Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb" was formed in order to spread information about the new system. Its aims were to "nationalise the oral instruction of the deaf and dumb by lipreading and articulate speech, to the rigid exclusion of the finger-alphabet and all artificial signs"; and

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1. v. Arnold: "Education of the Deaf." Vol.II p. 409.



"to train qualified teachers on this system, and to maintain a normal school for instructing deaf and dumb children".<sup>1</sup> The school and training college were opened at Fitzroy Square, London, in June 1872. In 1877, a rival association known as the "Society for Training Teachers of the Deaf and for the Diffusion of the German System", was founded. Its college, however, was not opened until the following year, when it took over premises in Ealing. Outside these newly-formed schools, the first of the existing institutions to experiment with the new system was the Yorkshire Institution at Doncaster. In 1876 the headmaster of that school arranged for the Abbe Balestra from Italy (which had also gone over to the "German" system) to come and instruct himself and his staff for a short period in the principles of oralism.

Such then, was the position with regard to the oral system in England, when attention in Scotland began to be paid to it. In point of fact the first mention of the reintroduction of oralism comes from Edinburgh. In 1872 it was noted that there was another system of educating the deaf as well as the one adopted in that institution, but it was suggested that it "would be a waste of time and labour.... to adopt this method in a miscellaneous school".<sup>2</sup> In any case, the Directors justified their attitude by pointing out that "articulation is harsh and monotonous and the Deaf and Dumb have no pleasure in it, but prefer writing or the manual alphabet."<sup>3</sup> Thus, condemned, no further reference is made to oralism in Edinburgh for the next seven years.

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1. Arnold: "Education of the Deaf," Vol 2 p.449-50.
  2. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1872 p.8.
  3. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1872.

Glasgow, however, was more sensitive to public opinion, and the Directors there viewed with a certain amount of disquiet the number of parents who were sending their children to London to be taught speech and lipreading in private schools. When Dr. Cassells, a well-known aurist, threatened to start an experimental oral school in Glasgow, they felt it was time some action was taken in the matter, and, Thomson, the headmaster, was sent South, in the summer of 1876, to investigate the oral teaching in progress there. The result of this visit convinced the Glasgow Directors that some start with oralism should be made in Glasgow, and Thomson was sent to Doncaster to learn the methods employed there. After a short period of training which lasted ten days, he returned "fully proficient", and a start was made forthwith. Initially, oralism was adopted with thirty pupils and it was decided that all new pupils should be tried out first on the new system and only when they appeared to be making no satisfactory progress would their education be continued on "silent" lines. By the following year the number of pupils being taught orally was 50, rather less than half of whom were congenitally deaf, and the success was "so encouraging" that more pupils were tried out on the new system in the succeeding years, until in 1880 it was reported that two-thirds of the total number of pupils on the roll were being instructed in speech and lipreading.

Meanwhile, with a change of headmaster, the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution had a change of heart also. The growing tide of oralism was exerting such a pressure that it could hardly any longer be ignored, and so, in 1879, a class of young pupils was formed to be



educated on the oral system. As might be expected, the children took some time to adapt themselves to the new system, which, in any case, never claimed quick results, and the Directors were somewhat doubtful as to the ultimate success of oral teaching. At any rate, with native caution, they refused to be caught up in the enthusiasm for oralism which was then spreading, for example in France, and, after a three years trial considered it "would be premature to decide what place oral teaching should have in the training of the deaf, or to make any radical change in the system."<sup>1</sup>

The introduction of oralism was not viewed with any favour by Large at Donaldson's Hospital. He claimed that he had always done a certain amount of speech teaching with the children who could benefit by it, and he felt that such methods were against the best interests of the deaf themselves. He pointed out, rightly, that oral instruction meant a longer period at school and smaller classes. As neither of these were economically possible, then it was better to continue on what he described as the "combined system". The fallacy of such an argument is, of course, clear: anyone convinced that the oral system was the best method of educating deaf children in order to fit them for a speaking world would have taken the necessary stand for smaller classes and a longer period of schooling, in spite of economic difficulties placed in the way. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the 'combined' method continued as the sole method of instruction at Donaldson's as long as Large remained headmaster.

At Dundee, as we have pointed out, the education of the children being in the hands of a headmaster who was deaf himself,

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1882.



precluded the possibility of the oral system being adopted there. However, no doubt owing to the publicity which the new methods were receiving, it was reported in 1881 that some of the children were being given some instruction in articulation by the matron.<sup>1</sup> Aberdeen, in spite of its silent tradition, experimented with the new methods. A deputation of the directors visited Van Aasche's School at Earls Court, London, and Doncaster Institution, and, being favourably impressed with the oral teaching at these places, recommended its introduction at Aberdeen. Consequently, in the early months of 1877 instruction in lip-reading and articulation was begun, and early results seemed to promise well.<sup>2</sup>

A very great stimulus was given to the oral system by the holding of an International Congress of Teachers of the Deaf at Milan in 1880. Unfortunately, a major criticism of this Congress was its completely unrepresentative character, for, of the 170 delegates attending, about 90 came from Italy, about 45 from France, England and America supplied about a dozen between them, whilst many countries, including Scotland, had no representatives at all. The main business before the Congress was methods of education and in this connection several very important resolutions were passed. These were:-<sup>3</sup>

1. That the Oral Method ought to be preferred to that of signs for the education and instruction of the deaf and dumb.
2. That the pure oral method ought to be preferred.
3. That Governments should take the necessary steps that all deaf and dumb may be educated.
4. That the most natural and effectual means by which the speaking deaf may acquire the knowledge of language is the 'intuitive' method, viz., that which consists in setting forth, first by speech, and then by writing, the objects and the facts which are placed before the eyes of the pupils.

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1. "American Annals of the Deaf" Vol xxvi, p. 190.
  2. "Report of Proceedings of Conference of Headmasters of Institns" (1877) p.40.
  3. Report on International Congress on the Education of the Deaf, held at Milan pp 4-8.



7. That the most favourable age for admitting a deaf child into school is from eight to ten years.  
 That the school term ought to be seven years at least; but eight years would be preferable.  
 That no teacher can effectively teach more than ten children on the Pure Oral Method.

The immediate effect of these resolutions was that France gave up the 'Silent' Method of instruction and went over entirely to the oral method. The effects in Britain were not quite so drastic, although in the following year a Conference of the Governing Bodies of Institutions for the Education of the Deaf, which was held in London, ratified all of these resolutions. At this latter conference were representatives of the institutions at Aberdeen and Glasgow, and also of Dr. Bell's experimental school at Greenock, and the Glasgow representatives pointed out that whilst they were in agreement with oralism as a principle, they still felt that there were a certain number of children (up to 30% it was suggested)<sup>1</sup> who were unable to benefit by the oral system. The Conference of Headmasters of Institutions which took place later in the same year was less unanimous in its views on the value of the oral system. Evidently tradition died hard and many appeared loth to lend their support to a system which had not been fully tested out in their own country. Although the headmasters of all the Scottish Institutions, save Aberdeen, attended this conference, none seems to have expressed an opinion either way, except Large, who, as usual, declared his preference for the 'combined' system.

Whilst the Milan Conference had thus put forward a clear-cut issue on methods of education, the challenge cannot be said to have been taken up by Scotland. It is true that some impetus was inevitably

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1. "Report of Governing Bodies of Institutions," (1881) p.34.

given to oral teaching as a result of the Congress and the subsequent conferences, but it is abundantly evident also that for the next decade, at least, the oral system was not adopted systematically by the older institutions. Edinburgh, by 1888 or 1889 seems to have been doing its best to start off the newcomers to the school on the oral system, although even then many of the pupils were taught 'silently', whilst both in Glasgow and at Donaldson's, it was the 'combined' system which was mainly in use. At Aberdeen and at Dundee, the methods were almost entirely silent, although a little articulation was taught as a modification of the 'combined' system. The education of the deaf children at Smyllum Orphanage was conducted almost entirely by silent methods.

It is only when we turn to the day schools that we find oralism being whole-heartedly adopted. It has already been noted that when Graham Bell opened his class in Greenock Academy, he arranged for a teacher of articulation to come from America to teach the children speech. This tradition was carried on by the School Board when they took over the class in 1883, and the first teacher appointed was a lady who had been trained at the college at Ealing. Members of the Board had already visited Smyllum Orphanage and seen a class there conducted on the 'German' system (which was shortly afterwards abandoned) and they approved so whole-heartedly of this method that they agreed it should be the one on which their children should be educated. The school became known as the "Glebe Oral School" and a tradition of oralism was commenced which has existed ever since.

It would appear that in the early stages the class conducted at Copeland Road, Govan, was less purely oral. Early records are obscure, and, although it was initially claimed to operate on the "Pure Oral" system,<sup>1.</sup>

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1. Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education," Vol 1. p.91.



yet as late as 1897 it was reported that only "several of the pupils are taught by the lip or oral method."<sup>1</sup>

The day-school at Dundee seems to have been clearly conducted on the oral system. The first headmistress had been trained at Fitzroy Square, and she persuaded Van Praagh, the Principal of that College, to come to Dundee for the first public examination of the pupils and to give the audience a lecture on the chief features of the pure oral system.<sup>2</sup> The same feature was repeated the following year, so that interested persons could scarcely have had any doubt about what this school was trying to achieve.

The position at the end of this period may therefore be summarised as follows. In the day-schools, oralism was almost the only method of instruction. In the residential institutions it was the exception rather than the rule, but experiments were being conducted in various places along oral lines. These experiments were, on the whole, yielding satisfactory results, so that it was only a matter of time before such methods became more widely adopted. In considering this situation it must be remembered that whilst the day schools were all comparatively recent ventures with no traditional methods behind them, (in point of fact, as we have

seen, they often arose as a revolt against the traditional system,) the institutions had to overcome the inertia of tradition before new methods could secure a satisfactory trial. Scotland, had, in fact lost her pride of place as a pioneer in the realm of deaf education, although this was to some extent redeemed in the next twenty years by the legal provisions which were made there for the education of the deaf, and by the work on ascertainment and classification begun in Glasgow.

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1. Log Book of Copeland Road Public School, Govan: entry in H.M.I.'s Report for that year.

2. Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education", Vol.1. Oct. 1836.

## CHAPTER 6.

### STATE CONTROL ( 1890 - 1914 ).

#### 1. Beginnings of State Intervention.

State intervention in education may be said to have begun in Scotland in 1696 with the Act "for settling of schools", although the state itself made no contribution towards these schools. It was not in fact until 1833 that the government made some financial contribution towards education, in Scotland as well as in England. These early grants were used for the erection of school buildings only, but it was at least an acknowledgement that education was not a matter entirely for private hands, or purses. As far as the education of deaf children was concerned, it was still considered that it was a matter for private charity. It was not regarded as one of the functions of the state to make provision for the education of all children, but rather that the state should supplement private resources in the provision of schools to which parents might send their children if they so desired. Deaf children, unable to avail themselves of the benefits so provided were considered to be unfortunate, but there was no obligation on central or local authorities to do anything to alleviate their misfortune. If private individuals or bodies considered it a part of their Christian duty to help in this direction, so much the better, whilst in any case, after 1845, deaf pauper children were assisted in the same way as their hearing fellows, so that no criticism of discriminatory treatment could be raised on that score.

It is no part of our task to consider here the development of state intervention in education except in so far as it has



impinged on the education of the deaf. However, mention must be made of the Education Act of 1872, which, whilst not specifically relating to deaf children, by its general terms did not exclude them. By this Act, which placed the onus of providing educational facilities upon locally constituted School Boards, it was laid down that "it shall be the duty of every parent to provide elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, for his or her children, between five and thirteen years of age." Thus it was not made compulsory for children to attend school, but if a parent was found to be neglecting his duty, then the School Board was empowered to institute proceedings against him. It has already been noted<sup>1</sup> that certain School Boards took action on behalf of the deaf children in their areas, on a liberal interpretation of the Act, and also that the compulsory powers of the Boards were not in fact used in respect of the education of children who were deaf. Nevertheless this Act did mark a step towards recognition of the fact that the education of deaf children was a matter for state assistance no less than the education of ordinary hearing children, and was the first of such steps in the long march to the Education Act of 1945 when at last the education of the deaf took its place within the national framework of education.

Apart from its effect on the provision of schools or classes for the deaf by School Boards, the Act had also the effect of drawing the attention of the older institutions to the possible benefits that might be derived from financial assistance from the state. The directors of the Glasgow Institution seem to have been the first to consider this possibility, and in 1880 they suggested that state grants should be

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1. V. ante p.82.



given to the deaf and dumb as well as to children in ordinary hearing schools.<sup>1</sup> At the Conference of Governing Bodies of Institutions held in London in 1881, their representatives raised the question and the Secretary of State was asked if the possibility might be considered.<sup>2</sup> However, little hope of such an eventuality was held out at this time. In October of the same year, the Directors met the Secretary of State for Scotland over the same matter, and he promised to give it his consideration. Further pressure on this question was exerted by the English Institutions on their respective Secretary of State, and at length these combined efforts met with their reward. In July 1885 a Royal Commission had been appointed to enquire into the condition of the blind, but in January 1886 the warrant was revoked and the Commission reconstituted to include the deaf and dumb also. A complete survey of the existing facilities for the education of deaf children was made, and witnesses were examined on methods, age of commencement, vocational training, and other relevant matters.

After a careful consideration of all the evidence, the Commissioners issued their report in 1889. The following is a summary of the more important of their recommendations with regard to the education of deaf children:-<sup>3</sup>

1. That compulsory attendance be enforced to the age of 16.
2. That a capitation grant be made of not less than half the cost of education, to a maximum of £10.
3. That the age of entry to school be fixed at 7, and attendance enforced for at least 8 years: the local authorities to pay the cost of travelling to and from school.
4. That general health, hearing, and sight should be inspected by a medical practitioner.

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1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1880.

2. v. Proceedings of Conference pp 46-8.

3. Report of Royal Commission on the Blind and the Deaf & Dumb.  
Vol.1. p. XC.



5. That technical instruction in industrial handicrafts be part of the curriculum after the age of 12 or 13, and that drawing, woodcarving, or modelling be made part of the regular curriculum for both sexes.
6. That every deaf child should have full opportunity of being educated on the pure oral system, and tried out on this system for a year at least.
7. That children with partial hearing or residual speech should be educated on the pure oral system.
8. That there should be one teacher for every 8-10 pupils on the pure oral system, and one teacher to every 14-15 in sign or manual schools.
9. That inspectors should be fully qualified by a knowledge of the systems of instruction.
10. That the Department should give grants for Training Colleges.
11. That the salaries of teachers should be on a higher scale than those of ordinary teachers.

The importance of such a Report will at once be obvious. Not only was state assistance recommended, but length of attendance, method of instruction, size of classes, health of pupils, and the training and remuneration of teachers were all dealt with. Here was a consolidation of most of the best current theories and practices about deaf education. Apart from the fact that deaf children were to be further handicapped by being allowed to start their education two years later than ordinary children, (although the length of the period of instruction was approximately the same) there was little that a critic could cavil at. Part-time vocational training after the age of 13 could hardly be considered a disadvantage when the normal child was not compelled to remain at school after that age.

These, however, were only recommendations, and the next step was to have them legally enacted by Act of Parliament. On December 12th 1889, a Conference of Representatives of Scottish Institutions and Boards was held in Edinburgh and resolutions on state grants were forwarded to the Secretary of State. In January 1890 a deputation from the Conference was received at the Scottish Education



Office where they pressed for the adoption of the Report of the Royal Commission. The suggestion was sympathetically received and matters seem to have been at once put in hand for the preparation of a Scottish Bill. Precise developments thereafter are unknown, but it is surmised that Illingworth had a great deal to do with the expeditious manner in which the usual machinery was set in motion.

The Act, which was known as the "Education of Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Scotland) Act" was passed on 14th August 1890 and came into effect on January 1st. 1891. It laid down that if the parent of a blind or deaf-mute child, between the ages of 5 and 16, was unable from poverty to pay for the education of such a child, then it was the duty of the school board, in the place of the parents' residence, to provide for the "efficient elementary education of such a child in reading, writing and arithmetic, and for his industrial training either in a school belonging to such a school board, or in some other school or institution approved of by the Scotch Education Department."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, where necessary, the school board had to provide for the boarding of the child and transit to and from school. Although it was permissive to pay for board and provide education from the age of five, yet attendance was not compulsory before the age of seven. Safeguards in connection with the religious persuasion of the parents, and their right to select the school, were also laid down. Finally, if a school board failed in the duties laid upon it by the act, any person might make application to a sheriff for an order for it to do so, from which order there could be no appeal. The Education Department itself was not granted any powers of compulsion over the local school boards (unlike the corresponding Act of 1893 in England

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1. Clause 3.



where the central authority was given this power.)

The Act was well received, and indeed merited a good reception. It covered the important points of compulsory attendance, and help to the parents who were unable to pay for the board, education, and travelling expenses of their children. It also helped the institutions in relieving them of some of the burden of maintaining the children of poor parents, in so far as the grants from the local school boards would meet that cost. What the Act did not lay down, of course, were the rates which were to apply, and before these could be formulated by the Scotch Education Department, the institutions again took action. In December 1890 a Conference of Managers and Teachers in Scottish Institutions was again called in Edinburgh where a sketch "Code of Instruction for Deaf-Mutes", drawn up by Illingworth, the headmaster of the Edinburgh Institution, was approved and submitted to the Department. In January 1891, a deputation from the Conference was received at the Scotch Education Office where they pressed for a substantial government grant, following the lines of the Royal Commission's Report.<sup>1</sup>

At length on the 5th. March, the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland laid down its policy in a Minute of that date. This was to the effect that "for each blind or deaf-mute scholar in a day or evening school or in any institution, grants may be allowed:

- (a) of 3l 3s if such scholar has been instructed throughout the year in elementary or class subjects and his attainments are found to be satisfactory,
- (b) of 3l 2s if such scholar has received satisfactory instruction and made satisfactory progress in some course of manual instruction approved by the Department."<sup>2</sup>

Four days later a Circular (No.122) was issued which made it clear that "this grant is towards education, and not board and maintenance,

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1891.

2. Reports of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland 1890-91 p.122



which is a matter for the School Boards."<sup>1</sup> The same circular made it plain that the Department was not going to lay down any syllabus or even to prescribe methods which might be used in the deaf schools: they preferred to wait until the Inspectors' Reports indicated a need for direction of this kind.

Thus were the somewhat high hopes of the institutions dashed. True, they had got government aid, they had got compulsory attendance, and, what is more, they had got official recognition. But the niggardly scale of this aid did not alleviate their financial worries. £5 5/- per child for education from the Department, plus £10-£15 for maintenance from the School Boards could scarcely meet the costs of education, which included the salaries of teachers, and the cost of the childrens' board, which together amounted to something like £30 per head. The additional £10 or so per head had therefore to be met by subscriptions or donations, and so we find in the Reports of the period a plea to subscribers to maintain their former help, since without it, the institutions could not continue their work. It was certainly not an uncharacteristic reply of a government department to the suggestion made for a £10 grant made in the Royal Commission's Report.

Nevertheless it was the first step towards the recognition of the needs of handicapped children by the state, and it was taken in Scotland three years before the corresponding act was passed in England. The immediate effect was to increase the number of children in the institutions - in Glasgow by about 20, and in Edinburgh by about half that number. The School Boards had to choose between sending their children to existing institutions and providing schools of their own, and the majority of Boards chose the former method.

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1. *ibid* p. 123.



Glasgow School Board even went so far as to appoint an attendance officer for the sole purpose of seeing that deaf and blind children received appropriate education under the terms of the act. By July 1891 it was reported that only one School Board had refused to acknowledge its liability for deaf children from its area who were already attending an institution. However the remedy was contained in the act, and the necessary steps were taken.<sup>1</sup>

Two further school boards used their powers under the act to open special schools for their own deaf children - Paisley in 1894, and Ayr in 1896 - but on the whole the existing facilities were apparently found to be adequate. In the summer of 1893 there was a controversy in the School Board of Glasgow as to whether or not they should institute day classes for the deaf. The issue was somewhat side-tracked by the wording of the motion which called for day classes "on the oral system." A "Vigilance Committee" of the Adult Deaf and Dumb Mission then intruded with a protest against the introduction of oralism, whereupon that part of the motion was withdrawn. After a prolonged discussion, however, the motion was defeated and the Board continued to send its children to the existing schools.<sup>2</sup> Fees were abolished in ordinary Board Schools between 1889 and 1893, and by the latter date they had generally ceased to be charged in day schools or classes for the deaf, although School Boards continued to charge fees in respect of the pupils who lived outside the School Board area but were in attendance at its school.<sup>3</sup>

State contributions towards the finances of the schools also carried with them Government Inspection. This had always been the case in ordinary schools and the first inspectors in Scotland were appointed

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1. Reported by Addison in "Quarterly Review of Deaf Mute Education" Vol II. p. 375.

2. "Quarterly Review of Deaf Mute Education" Vol. III p. 221 et seq.

3. The charge at Greenock was £1 5/- per quarter and at Dundee £10 per annum.



in 1839. They had, however, no right of entry into deaf schools until after 1891, although, on the request of the governors, Dr. Kerr, Her Majesty's Inspector, paid a visit to the deaf department of Donaldson's Hospital in 1888. Thereafter the school was inspected at fairly regular intervals on request, so that the work might be appraised by an independent authority, although no government grant was received by the Hospital until March 1903. As for the other institutions and day schools for the deaf, they were regularly inspected after 1891 by the inspector attached to the district in which they were situated. Unfortunately this meant that in very many cases the inspector saw only one school of this type, so that it was difficult to suggest or maintain a standard. Further, it meant that the inspectors were men who were largely ignorant of the special teaching which was given in these schools. In spite of these drawbacks, the inspectors did an excellent job of work when they attempted to relate what was being done in the deaf schools to the work of ordinary schools. Any connection between the curricula of the two types of school had been largely fortuitous, whilst at the same time it was becoming evident that, if deaf children were to be educated to take their place in a hearing world, some of the training which was given to hearing children would have to find a place in the curriculum of deaf schools. As early as 1913 it was suggested, by Addison of Glasgow<sup>1</sup>, that there should be a single inspector for the whole of Scotland, and that there should be a national body which would meet annually for the purpose of co-ordinating policy - a suggestion which has not even yet been fully implemented.

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1. at Biennial Conference of N.A.T.D. 1913 (Report p.11).



Of the (approximately) 400 children in residential institutions in Scotland in 1895, 103 were being maintained wholly by the School Boards,<sup>1</sup> whilst in a few more cases the Boards made up the amount which the parent could afford to contribute. By 1900, when the resident school population had risen to about 450, the Boards were maintaining 185 pupils,<sup>2</sup> or only about two-fifths of the total. The remainder were presumably paid for either by their parents or out of the funds of the school. In 1899, the Minute of 5th March 1891, laying down the scale of grants to be paid, was embodied in the Code of that year.

There was still a grave dissatisfaction with the rate of these grants and in May 1904 the Chairmen of the Institutions for the Blind and Deaf sent a report to the Secretary of State for Scotland requesting that the capitation grant of £5 5/- be increased and that in addition, "a substantial maintenance grant for feeding and clothing" be also paid.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why this request for a maintenance grant should have been made to the Secretary of State, since it was the local School Boards who were empowered under the Act of 1890 to make this payment. At any rate, by the following year, the Edinburgh Institution had raised its fees to £20 and payment of this sum by the School Boards was permitted by the Department. It was not, however, until 1908 that the Committee of Council on Education authorised the payment of £20 by the School Boards under the 1890 Act.

The next important step taken by the state which had an effect on the education of the deaf, was taken without having them specifically in view. Largely as a result of the Report of the Royal

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1. "Report of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland" (1895)

2. *ibid* 1900 p.27.

p. xxv.

3. "Teacher of the Deaf" vol.2 p.103.

Commission on Physical Education, which had been appointed in 1902, the Education Act of 1908 laid special emphasis on the physical welfare of children. Medical inspection was introduced into ordinary schools, and, as a result of this, cases of partial deafness were ascertained which had previously passed unnoticed, whilst early infections of the ear were observed and treated, and in many cases prevented from developing further. The result was that cases of adventitious deafness were reduced in number whilst at the same time more children were found to be in need of special education than had previously come within the sphere of the schools for the deaf.

The inadequacy of the existing state grant was a matter which continued to fill the minds of all those responsible for the education of the deaf, right up to the end of the period under consideration. At last, however, in the summer of 1914, the Exchequer relented and the grants were increased. Residential Institutions were now to receive £13, and day schools £7, per unit of average attendance, but the new rates were not to come into effect until 1st. April, 1915.

Other effects of the assumption of some measure of state control will be dealt with in the appropriate sections - namely those referring to the training of teachers, and the curricula of the schools.

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## 2. CHANGES IN THE INSTITUTIONS.

Although the main developments in this period were in the realm of curriculum and methods of teaching, and the gradual acceptance of the principle that the public had some responsibility



towards these handicapped children, nevertheless the existing institutions did not stand still. There was a very considerable development in their outlook and facilities between the closing years of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of the first world war.

The oldest institution, at Edinburgh, showed perhaps fewer changes than most. E.A. Illingworth, who had become headmaster in 1885 at the age of 23, was still in charge, and indeed remained in that capacity until 1918. Attempts at expansion were the main theme of the period. Both classroom and residential accommodation were becoming limited and the need for this was further brought home to the directors after a deputation had visited schools in England in 1891. The inspector, in the following year, suggested that there should be a gymnasium and a swimming bath, and it was agreed to incorporate these ideas in the plans which were being prepared. Accordingly, in August 1893, work was commenced on two new wings to the old buildings, which would contain a residence for the headmaster as well as a swimming bath and a gymnasium.<sup>1</sup> These were completed in July 1894 and enabled separate classrooms to be devoted to three classes instead of them having to be taught in the same room. This was deemed adequate for the next fifteen years, but by that time the need for separate classrooms for all the classes as well as better dining accommodation was being felt. It was considered that the real solution was an entirely new school, and that instead of trying to erect new buildings on the existing restricted site, a move to the

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1894.

suburbs would be the most satisfactory solution. The idea was turned over for the next four years, although it only remained a somewhat vague suggestion rather than a concrete proposal, but the outbreak of war caused it to be shelved for the time being. Consequently, by 1914, the buildings at Henderson Row remained virtually the same as when they had been erected about 90 years previously, and in spite of the additions and changes which had been made from time to time, were proving inadequate for their purpose.

From 1872 onwards, an annual visitor to the school was the Lord High Commissioner (the King's representative at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland). Oddly enough, however, although the Institution had been granted Royal Patronage in 1823, it was not until the accession of King George V, and his continuance of the Patronage, that the word Royal was incorporated into the title of the school, in 1911. Henceforth it was to be known as the Edinburgh Royal Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb.

In spite of the government grants for education and the contributions of the School Boards towards maintenance, the directors were hard put to it to make financial ends meet. Funds were constantly in a very low state, and the cost of the additions of 1894 was nothing like met by the response to the special appeals which had been circulated. Something like £700 annually was needed, in addition to the contributions already mentioned, in order to meet the expenditure, but this sum was rarely forthcoming, and, in spite of annual appeals for more money, the deficit had reached over £900 by 1904. Special appeals were made for help and the services of the City of Edinburgh Charity Organisation Society enlisted, whilst a recourse had to be



made, in 1902, to the old practice of sending out the headmaster with one or two pupils on a tour of exhibition in order to revive interest outwith the city. However, by 1905, thanks to a generous response to the special appeal, and the increased revenue coming from the raising of the fees, the debts were finally paid off and the institution was once more solvent.

Following the example of Glasgow in the previous year, an honorary aurist was appointed to the institution in 1891. At the same time an oculist was also appointed, so that the medical inspection of the children was well in advance of anything that was being done for ordinary hearing children.

In June 1910, the Edinburgh Institution celebrated the centenary of its existence. On the 24th of the month the present pupils had a treat and games, concluding the day with a huge bonfire. The following day about 150 former pupils attended a celebration presided over by Lady Dunedin. The impression which the former pupils are said to have gained was that the present pupils enjoyed many advantages which had been denied to them<sup>1</sup> - not an uncommon complaint either then or now.

At Donaldson's Hospital there appear equally few changes to be recorded. Large, the headmaster, was perhaps the most outstanding figure in deaf education in Scotland at this time. Although nominally subject to the House Governor of the Hospital, Large, by reason of his long experience, was allowed a great deal of freedom, and did in fact take over many of the House Governor's duties when the latter was given permission to live out of the Hospital after his marriage in 1873. Uncompromising in many ways, a traditionalist in methods, Large,

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1. v. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1911.

nevertheless, exercised great influence on deaf education, not only in Donaldson's Hospital, but throughout Scotland. Many were the visitors and deputations who came to visit the school, and, to all, the stern black-bearded figure presented his forthright and unswerving opinions. In spite of opposing views on methods, he was the boon companion of Hutchison, the headmaster of Henderson Row, and the two held each other in great respect and affection. After 36 years of service at Donaldson's Hospital (and a total of 50 years altogether as a teacher of the deaf) Large resigned in September 1899, and was succeeded by John Brown, his principal assistant. At the same time a new House Governor - Robert Skinner was appointed. This appointment was a complete departure from the original policy of appointing a clergyman to the post. However, as usual, the House Governor left the education of the deaf children to the man who was specially qualified and appointed for the work.

In 1895 a new step was taken when it was decided to allow the deaf children to remain at school until they were 16.<sup>1</sup> The object of this was to allow the boys to have a period of technical, and the girls of domestic, training. This practice continued for several years until in 1903 the constitution of the Hospital was amended in order to include this clause. Brown had stated that the scheme was working satisfactorily and advised that it be regularised by the aforementioned amendment.

The headmaster also decided that some knowledge of what was being done in different schools in Europe would be of benefit, not only to himself, but the Hospital as a whole. He therefore requested, and received, permission to visit some of these schools during the

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1. v. Donaldson's Hospital House Committee Reports for Year cit.



month of May 1906. However, any new ideas which he got from this visit were not made apparent by any changes at Donaldson's, whilst in any case, in November 1908, Brown applied for and obtained the headship of the Institution for the Deaf at Edgbaston, Birmingham, and William Young, his principal assistant, was appointed in his stead.

Not until the beginning of the century was the antiquated uniform, which had to be worn by all the pupils, abolished. The boys gave up their dark blue jackets with brass buttons for norfolk suits, and the girls their tartan dresses for something more comfortable and less conspicuous. After 1911 the holidays at the end of April for the annual preachings were abolished and a fixed Easter vacation introduced.

The number of deaf children attending the school remained fairly stationary during this period. It had reached the total of 111 by 1890 and although by the turn of the century it had increased to 118, thereafter it declined slightly again.

Aberdeen Institution, in 1881, had come under the headship of Mr. A. Pender who was to remain there for the next forty years. The school, which was by this time, housed at 30 Belmont Street, although still drawing many of its pupils from all over the North of Scotland, also educated the deaf children of the city as day pupils, the local school board paying £4 4/- per annum per pupil to the directors as fees for them.<sup>1</sup> Towards the close of the century there were about 28 pupils attending the school of whom 9 were boarders, but the state of the buildings was such that it was felt that this was too many. Accordingly in 1898 the directors appointed a

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1. Minutes of Aberdeen School Board 27th Sept 1900 p. 214.



sub-committee of their number to investigate the position, and the result was a thoroughgoing condemnation of the existing conditions. It was found that the house was "very much needing repair"; that "the furniture in the schoolroom is very antiquated and in bad condition"; "that the blackboard, is placed on the wrong wall for light"; and that the house was "far from being what it ought to be as a suitable building for carrying on the important work connected with the education of Deaf Mutes."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the school-room, which had a cubic capacity suited to its occupancy by 10 children was, in fact, housing 28.

Before taking any action on this report, the directors asked the school board whether there was any likelihood of its taking into its own hands the education of its own deaf children. When the board replied that it saw no reason to alter the existing arrangements, negotiations were begun for a new building in which to house the institution, and this was finally found at 10 Mount Street.

The school board, however, having been stirred up in the matter of the education of the deaf children within its own area, decided to investigate the matter further and enquire into the "efficiency of the instruction imparted at the Institution".<sup>2</sup> A sub-committee visited the institution at which 25 children were then being educated at the Board's expense, and, after further enquiries on methods elsewhere, they decided to open a day school. The result of this action (which will be considered more fully in a later section) was that the number of pupils at the Institution dropped very considerably and likewise, of course, did the income. As the methods of the two schools were diametrically opposed there seemed little

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1. Supplementary Report to the Directors of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in Aberdeen (1898) pp 4&5.

2. Minutes of Aberdeen School Board 27th Feb.1902 p29.



chance of co-operation. The Institution would have welcomed some co-operative action but only on their own terms, which insisted on the abandonment of pure oralism as the sole method of instruction. The School Board would also have liked to combine with the Institution in some way, particularly as the funds of the latter would have helped to relieve the rates in some measure, but the only suggestion it could make, and one can hardly believe they expected the Directors of the Institution to take it seriously, was that the Institution should make an annual contribution from its funds to the day school,<sup>1</sup> presumably in consideration of the Board having taken some of its pupils off its hands.

In 1913 the matter of co-operation between the two schools was again raised, and again the ensuing conference between the Directors of the Institution and some members of the School Board proved abortive: the stumbling block being, as before, the question of methods of instruction.

By the following year the numbers at the Institution had risen to 23 of whom 16 were boarders and, although the funds showed an adverse balance, it bravely carried on. It was evident, however, that sooner or later an amalgamation would have to take place; it was only a question of which side would give in first, and, of course, the odds were heavily weighted in favour of the School Board.

During the first part of the period under consideration Barland remained the head of the Dundee Institution. Little change took place, save in matters of curriculum, which will be examined later. Apparently Barland managed the twenty or so children who formed the usual number of pupils attending, by himself. However, in 1898 the Inspector pointed out that an assistant was really required, but, as

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1. Minutes of Aberdeen School Board 24th April 1908 pp 116-8.

none could be obtained at the time, his wife, who was also matron, was duly appointed to the post of assistant teacher as well. Such a family arrangement might have been very convenient to the Barland's, but it does not seem that it was in the best interests of the school, for it is difficult to see how Mrs. Barland could fulfill both of her functions properly. At any rate, in 1902, the Barlands retired, receiving, incidentally, a retiring allowance of £300, for the work they had done.<sup>1</sup> In Barland's place as superintendent was appointed Mr. R. Hansell, and it was evident from the beginning that a new era was dawning for the Institution. In the first place this was the first hearing teacher that the Institution had had in its existence of over 40 years. Changes of method and an extension of the curriculum automatically followed, whilst the appointment of two assistant teachers in 1904 enabled much more individual attention to be paid to the children. The number of pupils steadily increased, reaching 30 by 1910, and, although they decreased to 22 in 1913, the numbers slowly increased again after that year. The rise in numbers necessitated the employment of a third assistant teacher, and, from 1908 onwards, with the exception of a slight break in 1914, we find that number constantly in the school. Some extensions were required to meet the needs of this increase in numbers and also the developments in vocational training and physical education that were being carried out at this period. Accordingly, in 1911, classrooms were erected and a workshop and gymnasium fitted out.

At Glasgow, our period opens with the retiral of Thomson from the headship of the Institution there, at the close of 1890. Early

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1. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol I. p115.



in the following year he was succeeded by Addison, destined to become one of the great headmasters of that Institution. One of the main features of the latter's term of office was the great increase in the number of children in attendance resulting in an ever-growing need for expansion on the part of the school. In 1890 there were 120 pupils attending the Glasgow Institution, making it the biggest school for the deaf in the country. The teaching staff had to increase correspondingly and four more were added to the staff in 1891. At the same time increased accommodation had to be sought. In 1895 two houses in the nearby Battlefield Crescent were leased in order to serve as sleeping accommodation for some of the older boys. This freed the top storey of the Institution for use as a sick-room; but even so, this was only a temporary measure, and, in any case, new classrooms were urgently needed. In February 1896 Addison presented to the Governors a "Report on the Increased Accommodation"<sup>1</sup> which would be required, in which he took what he considered to be a careful long-term view of possible developments and their effect on the policy of the Directors. He envisaged an annual intake of 25 pupils, and this, taken over an eight years' course, would make the probable size of the school about 200 pupils. On the other hand, he considered that perhaps a separate school might be built for the pupils who were to be instructed by the oral method, of whom there might be 50-60 in the 200. This being so, he suggested that alterations be carried out to enlarge the school, but at the same time, the trend of development should be carefully watched, and, if evidence was forthcoming that pure oralism should be given a trial in a separate building, then a public appeal for funds should be made, in order to, build this oral school for about 60 children. This was an excellent

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1. Appendix to Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1896.



piece of long-term planning and tallied suprisingly well with the actual course of events. In point of fact another school was established (for partially deaf pupils instead of for oral deaf pupils, it is true) and the numbers which Addison indicated were not so very wide of the mark.

Some of the alterations which Addison suggested were carried out and new classrooms and baths were completed by the following January, but there was not sufficient money to build a sanatorium. In 1898 the Directors could proudly report that the school was "one of the most completely equipped in the United Kingdom",<sup>1</sup> there having been £9000 spent on improvements in the preceding seven years. However, they were not content to let it rest at that and in 1902 a new boys' home was built and the houses in Battlefield Crescent given up. This still did not end the problem of accommodation, for in 1906 the increasing number of girls necessitated the purchase of the nearby villa of "Roselea". Finally, in 1911, the long-desired sanatorium was built at a cost of £1000. This was made possible through a grant of that amount being received from the Bellahouston Trustees. By this time the number of pupils on the roll had reached the total of 210, the highest it was ever to achieve.

Naturally all this expenditure was a heavy drain on the resources of the Institution. Public subscriptions and grants helped very considerably but by the beginning of 1914 funds were so low that £500 had to be taken from the Capital Fund to meet current expenditure. As will be seen in the next chapter this was the beginning of the end. The high cost of living brought about by the war and the inadequacy of the funds to meet the ever-mounting expenses

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1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1898.



caused the Directors to review their position as an independent body.

But a building programme was not the only means whereby the Institution expanded during this period. The health of the children was safeguarded not only by the improvements already mentioned, but by a succession of new medical appointments. In 1890 an aurist was appointed whose function was to examine the ears of the pupils and, where treatment was required, to prescribe the same. The developments which followed this appointment are outwith the scope of this section, and will be dealt with later; but, from the purely medical point of view this was an important advance in so far as it showed how remedial treatment might arrest developmental disorders of the ear. Two years later a dental surgeon was appointed to the staff and a vigorous campaign launched by him in the matter of teeth-cleaning led not only to an improvement in the condition of the teeth of the pupils but an improvement in their general health also. In 1908 (or early 1909), following the emphasis placed on physical welfare by the Act of that year, an oculist was appointed. The importance of the care of the eyesight of deaf children is immediately obvious when their dependence on their eyes is remembered, and it was somewhat alarming to find that his first report complained that the vision of the children was "worse than that of the poorest Board school".<sup>1</sup> Glasses were prescribed for 28 children immediately and further examination and treatment was required for many more. It will be evident from such developments, both here and at Edinburgh, that the institutions for the deaf did some extraordinarily good pioneer work in the medical attention which was given to their children.

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1. Report of Glasgow Institution for 1909.

During this period also team games were introduced into the school particularly for the boys, and cricket and football seem to have been the most popular pastimes, although after the turn of the century hockey for girls seems to have been introduced. Nor was the recreational side of school life neglected, for, in addition to Boys' Brigade Companies and Scout Troops (not to mention a Band of Hope and a Dorcas Society in Glasgow), annual kinderspiels or pantomines were held, weekly lime-light or magic-lantern shows given, and visits to museums, zoos, circuses, pantomines, and any important events taking place in the locality were made. "Extra-curricular" activities were, in fact, beginning to brighten up what had formerly been the somewhat drab routine of institution life. Games and magazines were provided to while away the long winter evenings and, altogether, other needs of the children, besides educational, were slowly beginning to be recognised. A much-needed "humanising" influence seemed to have been at work in the institutions, and, although the picture should not be painted in too vivid colours, yet there was a decided improvement on the unrelieved sombre scene of the nineteenth century. Holidays for children whose parents could not afford to take them away were provided in Glasgow by the Children's Fresh Air Fund which from 1892 until 1900 (at least) took 40 children (and later 20) for a fortnight's annual holiday on the Clyde Coast.

Of the remaining institution, that at Smyllum, little remains to be added. Changes in method, here as elsewhere, were predominant, and few other developments have been recorded. The main one took place in 1911. It was apparently the opinion of the Sisters that, although Smyllum was a healthy location, it was too far away from the main centres of population where alone could be obtained the medical treatment which some, at least, of the children required. Accordingly



a search for a new site was instituted and eventually one was presented to the managers by a Mr. Smith of Sligo. This was<sup>a</sup> valuable piece of land in Tollcross, a suburb of Glasgow, where a new building was erected providing accommodation for 200 blind and deaf children. In 1911 the work was completed and the pupils (of whom the deaf numbered nearly 100) were transferred to the new institution which became known as St. Vincents, Tollcross.

During this period considerable attention was being paid throughout the country to the age at which children were being admitted to schools. Although the Act had laid down the compulsory age as 7 and the permissive age as 5, in point of fact many children were not being sent to school until they were 9, and in some cases even later. It was reported in 1903<sup>1</sup> that the Act was not working satisfactorily in this direction and that it was mainly due to ignorance on the part of many parents that the School Board was bound to provide for them from the age of 5. It was also probably due to the reluctance of some Boards (particularly in the smaller parishes) to expend on behalf of these children a proportion of the rates which was so much greater per head than that spent on ordinary children.

In 1903 the directors of the Edinburgh Institution reported that over the previous two years 14 out of the 20 children who had been admitted to the school had an average of 11 years. At Donaldson's Hospital the rules did not permit of children being admitted before the age of 7 years, and, in fact, admissions were usually made of children between 7 and 9 years of age. At Dundee Institution the average age of admission was 7.5 years in 1900, whilst in 1910 it had increased slightly to 7.7 years. Glasgow Institution has not recorded the age of entry of its pupils but, although the situation was unlikely to be so

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1. Report of 4th Biennial Conference of National Association of Teachers of the Deaf (1903) p.41.

bad as it was in Edinburgh, it was probably much the same as elsewhere. At any rate, in 1907, the average figure quoted for the whole country was 7<sup>1</sup> - not a great improvement on the previous thirty years and certainly a state of affairs which put the deaf at a grave disadvantage. It was evident that until the compulsory age was lowered the actual age of entry would not drop; and, since it was just beginning to be realised that early education was essential to the deaf child, so the beginnings of a campaign to lower the age of admission to schools for the deaf were discernible about this time. In almost every annual report of the Edinburgh Institution from 1904 onwards can be seen a paragraph urging parents to send their children to school at as early an age as possible whilst to facilitate this the rules of the Institution were revised, in 1914, in order that pupils might be entitled to enter the Institution from the age of 6.

### 3. Developments in the Day Schools.

As has already been noted, fees were abolished in day schools for deaf children soon after their abolition in ordinary schools. This was done in Dundee in 1891 and in Greenock in 1893. In the former, however, pupils coming from outside the Burgh were required to pay £10 per annum, whilst in the latter only 25/- per quarter was charged. At Greenock, although the number of children was never large (18 in 1895), there was no dearth of lady pupil teachers. In 1894 six of these were taken on with a view to training them for the first

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1. Report of International Conference on Education of the Deaf (1907)  
p. 110.



examination of the Metropolitan College for Teachers of the Deaf, an annual premium of £10 being demanded from the young ladies in question by the Burgh School Board. The Board, being particularly pleased with this new development, was very receptive to an ingenious proposal to reconstitute the school as a "Scottish Training College of Teachers of the Deaf and Oral School."<sup>1</sup> After considerable discussion the whole scheme appears to have had a rapid demise and the school reverted placidly to the purpose for which it had been originally intended. In the same year Dr. Kerr Love from Glasgow visited the school and expressed his disapproval of the fact that all the pupils were being taught in one room and that no attempt was being made to differentiate between the totally deaf and the hard of hearing. In 1898 the school was transferred to larger premises in Ardgowan Public School where it still continues. Although the training scheme had not come to fruition there was nevertheless a constant stream of pupil teachers passing through the school and from 1893 until 1905 the school served as a very useful practising ground for many young women who, upon completion of their training, formed a most valuable source of supply for many schools both in Scotland and England.

With regard to the day school at Dundee there appear to have been few changes worthy of note, save three in location. In 1892, when the numbers had grown to about 20, the school was moved to Euclid Crescent, from whence it was transferred to Dudhope Hospital in 1900. There it remained until the outbreak of war when the premises were requisitioned and temporary accommodation had to be found in Dudhope United Free Church Hall.<sup>2</sup> With the increase in

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1. v. infra p. 237.

2. For these various changes v. Log Book of the school under the appropriate years.

numbers additional staff was needed and it is interesting to note that in order to secure assistance the headmistress, in 1891, was sent to London to visit the training colleges there, and endeavour to find someone willing to come to Dundee. Her efforts were evidently successful and when, in 1895, the number on the roll had increased to 26, a further assistant was obtained from the same source. By 1912 there were over 30 children at school and a fourth teacher was added to the staff.

There are equally few developments to report in the class attached to Copeland Road School in Govan. The numbers remained fairly stationary at about 10 or 11 until the turn of the century when they started rising steadily - from 14 in 1901 to about 20 in 1914. Another teacher was added to the staff, but until 1908 the classes were inspected by the district Inspector on his annual visit to the school. This practice ceased in that year from which time it would appear either that no inspections took place at all, or that a special visit was made to this class at a time different from the annual visit to the ordinary classes of the school. The latter explanation appears the more likely.

However, although no great developments were taking place in the existing day schools, the period shows a great increase in the number of pupils being educated in such establishments - especially with the opening of four new day schools. The number of deaf children being educated in day schools in 1890 was about 44; by 1914 this number had risen to 135 (excluding those being educated in the school for partially deaf children at Dovehill, Glasgow).



The first of the new day schools to be opened was at Paisley. This class was established on January 24th, 1894 at Camphill Public School. Unfortunately no early records of this school seem to be in existence as no Burgh School Board Minutes before 1899 are extant, whilst the School Log Book does not begin until 1915. In 1900, however, the class was transferred to Oakshaw Public School and Miss McNeill was appointed Headmistress. In 1903 she resigned and Miss. K. Paterson from Langside Institution took charge remaining there until 1928. Inspection was carried out by the local inspector of schools who generally reported that the results were "very gratifying". The size of the class grew slowly but steadily (pupils from outside the Burgh were admitted on payment of £1/10/- per quarter) and by 1906, there were 18 pupils on the roll with an assistant and pupil-teacher in addition to the headmistress. In April 1910 it was announced that a beginners class for children from 5 years and upwards was going to be started, so evidently the value of early education was realised here, by this time.

The school at Paisley was followed in 1896 by the opening of a special class for deaf children attached to Lady Jane Hamilton's School, Ayr. The reasons which caused the Burgh School Board to make the decision to start a class for such children are not now known, but in January 1896 a teacher from the Margate School was appointed<sup>1</sup> and the class was opened in March with 8 children.<sup>2</sup> No fees were charged to local children, of course, but those attending from without the burgh boundary were charged £5 per annum. There were normally one or two of such children on the roll from various parts of the county, and

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1. "Ayr Advertiser" Jan. 2. 1896.

2. *ibid* April 16 1896.

the fees were generally paid by the parent, if he could afford them, or alternatively by the parish school board. In most cases there was little difficulty in recovering this charge, but there were occasions when a parish school board refused to be responsible for a child whose deafness necessitated education in a special school or class. In such cases the Burgh School Board of Ayr recommended the parent to communicate with the Scottish Education Department.

The numbers in this class never seemed to have reached more than ten, and one teacher was always sufficient to deal with it. On the whole, the teacher of the deaf retained a considerable degree of independence in the school, but, as has already been noted in connection with the Govan class, this association of a special class with an ordinary school always contained in itself the seeds of possible discord which might or might not grow according to the personalities of the staff concerned. The solution to the problem in Ayr, as it had been at Govan, was to lay down that the teacher of the deaf and her class were under the control of the headmistress during school hours in the same way as any other assistant teacher,<sup>1</sup> but that the curriculum and methods employed were to be the sole concern of the specialist teacher, always subject, of course, to the wishes of the school board.

Kilmarnock contemplated emulating the example of Ayr in 1913, when a proposal was put before the school board to start classes for the deaf. The proposal, however, met with little support and was finally abandoned, but not before a particularly violent tirade against day classes for the deaf in general, had been made by the local missionary to the adult deaf. He stated that "deaf classes in nearly all big cities are failures and have to be given up for many

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1. Ayr Burgh School Minutes 4 June 1909.



reasons," and that "day school children are utterly ignorant, while the institution children are fully educated."<sup>1</sup> The evidence upon which he seems to have based these sweeping statements was mostly twenty years out of date, and his attack was probably mainly due to the fact that the oral system (which was not, on the whole, approved by missionaries to the Adult Deaf) was chiefly in use in the day schools, whilst the institutions still operated on the 'combined' method. Similar attacks were made on the class at Ayr, as will be seen later, but it succeeded in weathering the storm.

The next school board to decide to take the matter of educating its deaf children into its own hands was Aberdeen. It has already been noted that in 1902 the School Board made enquiries into the efficiency of the instruction being given at the Institution where it was paying £4 4/- per annum for the education of deaf pupils belonging to the city. Enquiries into methods of instruction at the day schools in Dundee, Leeds, and Leicester, as well as at Donaldson's Hospital were also made and the deputation which visited the three day schools were impressed with the teaching of speech and lipreading which they saw there. They did, however, consider that there was a need for fingerspelling and signs for such children as could not profit by the oral system, and, feeling that this type of education was being well catered for in the local institution, recommended that a small day school should be opened which would educate children entirely on the oral system.<sup>2</sup> After a year's delay, the school was eventually opened at Beech Lodge on August 16th, 1904, with 8 pupils. Although the school was a day one, the School

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1. "Kilmarnock Herald" 21 Feb 1913.

2. Aberdeen School Board Minutes 23 Dec. 1902 pp.362-6.

Board, following the example of Dundee, offered no objection to the headmistress accepting one or two pupil boarders. Such pupils were charged £10 per annum, and, strangely enough, even the local day scholars were required to pay £2 unless their parents were too poor to afford this. By 1910 the number of pupils had doubled, and in 1913, when there were 23 pupils and 3 teachers, the school was transferred to Westburn Road.<sup>1</sup>

Almost from the inception of the school the question of co-operation with the institution was in the forefront of the minds of both the directors of the latter and the members of the school board. It was felt that both schools could take more pupils; that in fact there was really only justification for one school, but the uncompromising attitude taken up by both parties in the matter of method precluded any possible co-operation or amalgamation. Towards the end of 1907 and the beginning of 1908 the matter was again given serious consideration, but no acceptable solution could be arrived at and the problem remained unsolved for the next ten years.

In Hamilton, Lanarkshire, the School Board's decision to open a day school for its deaf children seems to have proceeded less from a priori principles than from external pressure. Thanks mainly to the determination of a lawyer to have his two deaf children educated locally, to which was added the influence of Sir Henry Keith, the School Board decided to start a class. It began humbly, as so many other such classes had done, in an upstairs room in Cadzow Street, Hamilton on October 23rd, 1911, with 6 children. After about eighteen months the numbers had doubled and an assistant teacher was appointed to help the headmistress. When the roll had

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1. Log Book of Aberdeen Day School for the Deaf.



risen to 15, after almost exactly two years of existence, the class was transferred to St. John's Hall in Duke Street, and became known, henceforth, as a school.

Thus, by 1914, the general pattern of education of the deaf in Scotland had taken fairly complete shape. There were a number of residential institutions which served the vast majority of deaf children up and down the country, and which were in the hands of voluntary committees. In addition, in some of the larger centres of population, particularly in the west, there were day schools or classes under the control of the local school boards. Thus, on the whole, though the organisation was far from ideal, there were a fairly adequate number of places in schools for deaf children, of one type or another. In addition, as we shall see in Section 5 of this chapter, the problem of partially deaf children was also beginning to be tackled.

#### 4. Curriculum and Methods.

The effects of the Act of 1890 were much more widespread than its supporters could have envisaged. It had a profound effect on the curriculum of schools for the deaf, not only because payment of part of the government grant was dependent upon the introduction of a course of manual training, but also because of the contact made with the curricula of ordinary schools by means of the visits of Her Majesty's Inspectors. During the period in question, in the ordinary Schools, new theories were being expounded and new ideas tested in practice. The Day School Code underwent many changes and by the early years of the century had succeeded in greatly broadening the scope of the work of the schools. "The whole gamut of specific subjects was

swept away and in their place was set up an organically connected curriculum in which essential subjects like reading, writing, and arithmetic, were reinforced by a wide range of auxiliary subjects calculated to promote intelligence, observation, and self-expression."<sup>1</sup> As has already been shown, the curriculum in the average institution for the deaf was probably less restricted than that of the average elementary school, but in spite of this there is little doubt that these changes in the ordinary schools had important and beneficial effects on the work of the schools for the deaf, even though there was sometimes a considerable time lag before the influences could be observed.

It was still felt, however, by the educators of the deaf, that the child's greatest handicap was his lack of language, and therefore we find, rather naturally, that the teaching of the English Language was still the most important 'subject' in the curriculum of schools for the deaf. In this connection much of the traditional method of presentation prevailed - the learning of names of common objects and other vocabulary lists and then a description of actions performed (usually by the teacher). Thus the Inspector, after his visit to the Glasgow School in 1890, reported that, after less than two years' instruction the children could write short sentences expressing ordinary ideas (e.g. throwing a hat on the floor) and also knew the plurals of regular and irregular nouns. They had been taught the uses of the verbs "to be" and "to have," and sentence building by means of prepositions. After another year they knew the three tenses of the verb and could write descriptions of certain animals, but the only conjunction they knew was "and". In the fourth year the children

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1. Belford: "Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland" p. 155.



were able to use several conjunctions.<sup>1</sup> At Edinburgh, in 1895, instruction was reported to range from "writing names of common objects to description of pictures and reproduction of stories".<sup>2</sup> The curriculum at Dundee seems to have been even more formal, if that were possible. The aim, in the words of the headmaster, was "to enable the children to have a command of simple written language".<sup>3</sup> For this purpose he divided the school into two classes - the Junior, or Word Class, and the Senior, or Language Class. The children in the Word Class are promoted to the Language Class as soon as they know the names of 100 common things. In the Language Class there are two divisions - the higher, which learn every full sentence as a lesson, and the lower, which, after leaving the Word Class, learn a part of each sentence gradually, until they are able to join the higher in learning full sentences. I give them a sentence to commit to memory, explain it, and ask them questions on it".<sup>4</sup> Although such a plan was unnatural and had little to commend it, before condemning it utterly its aim should be recalled, as well as the fact that both here and at Aberdeen the method of instruction was a manual one, whilst in the other schools it was at least in part oral or 'combined'. This difference in methods of instruction would clearly have some effect on the way in which language was presented, for written (or fingerspelled) English is much more formal than the spoken variety. The syllabus of the Aberdeen School in 1898 is perhaps a representative example of what was attempted, at least in

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1. Report of Glasgow Institution for 1890.

2. Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1895.

3. Report of Dundee Institution for 1894.

4. From headmaster's report in Report of Dundee Institution for 1895.

schools where the silent methods prevailed, although not necessarily only there.

- Class 1. Grammar, Composition, Reading, Picture Lesson, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Object Lesson, Bible History, Vocabulary, Commands and Actions.
- Class 2. As above, but not so advanced.
- Class 3. Grammar, Composition, Reading, Geography, Object Lesson, Arithmetic, Bible History, Vocabulary, Questions, Commands and Actions.
- Class 4. same, but not so advanced.
- Class 5. Grammar, Picture Lesson, Object Lesson, Arithmetic, Bible Lesson, Vocabulary, Questions, Commands.
- Class 6. (Beginners) Deaf Mute alphabet in writing as well as on fingers,<sup>1</sup> and learning of words of three or four letters.

Object Lessons, although falling out of favour elsewhere, still retained a place of special importance in schools for the deaf. It is easy to criticise them in the light of our present-day experience, but as a means of teaching vocabulary and sentence construction in a formal manner they obviously had their uses. At the same time it is necessary to point out that the above syllabus was only the bare bones of the teaching and much would depend on the approach and skill of the individual teacher which it is, alas, impossible to reconstruct.

In addition to such a plan as has been outlined to above attempts were beginning to be made to widen the experiences of the children by visits to museums and exhibitions and also by "magic-lantern" shows. Inspectors, whilst perhaps chary of offering advice, were nevertheless able to compare the standard of attainment with that in the ordinary school, and this had the salutary effect of causing teachers to re-evaluate their work. In an article on the teaching of Geography by a teacher in the Glasgow School for the

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1. Quoted in a Supplementary Report to the Directors of the Dundee Institution 1898 p.6.



Deaf, written in 1894, can be seen the beginnings of the re-orientation of some of the teaching.<sup>1</sup>

"We begin with the youngest children in training them in observation. Later, a sand table can be used for modelling natural forms. Records of the weather should be kept, and at this point maps can be introduced by drawing plans of the school-room, then drawing to scale. Maps of walks or excursions should also be made. Thereafter a study of the town in which they live; next neighbouring towns; then the country; and from there develop outwards. During lessons pupils should draw a great deal - filling in features &c on blank maps. Finally a study can be made of the globe."

It would seem, too, that the Montessori system was beginning to influence the work with younger children in the schools just about the close of this period. Although there is no evidence that the system was adopted whole-heartedly anywhere, it appears that some, at least, of the sense-training apparatus and ideas were adapted for use with the younger children of whom, of course, there were still all too few.

Reading was a subject which was perplexing the staffs of schools for the deaf at this time. The problem was, of course, that reading books suited to the age of the children were too difficult in language content, whilst those that were suited to the stage of language development of the children were far below their level of interest. Addison suggested<sup>2</sup> the production of a special reader "for the first three years of the deaf pupil's school life", and action was quickly taken on this suggestion. In 1909 a committee of the National Association of Teachers of the Deaf, under the chairmanship of Addison, produced a "First Reader for Deaf Children".

The introduction of post-primary education brought into sharper

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1. A condensation of the article by Miss McBean in the "Quarterly Review of Deaf Mute Education" Vol.3 pp. 287-90 and 354-7.
  2. Report of International Conference on Education of the Deaf (1907) p.112.

focus the limitations of the curricula in schools for the deaf.

It had been recognised for some time that in individual cases many deaf children were capable of benefitting from a much more advanced education than had hitherto been provided in the schools, or even considered possible. The first attempt in Scotland to remedy this omission was made in Glasgow in 1901. A special class of 6 pupils was formed in that year with the object of preparing them for the College of Preceptors Examination, 3rd Class. This class was under the direction of G.S. Haycock, one of the assistants in the school, and, in order to keep these pupils on after the age of 16, after which the local authorities had no power to pay for their maintenance or education, the Directors of the Institution made a special appeal for funds. In so doing they pointed out that 3 - 4% of the pupils could benefit from this advanced instruction were the necessary funds available, and the position was compared with that in America where free education and maintenance was provided for pupils up to the age of 21 if it was thought desirable. There appears to have been no response to the appeal, although Dr. Gallaudet, the principal of Gallaudet College - the American Institution for higher education for the deaf - sent messages of encouragement. However, the Directors dipped into their capital and continued the plan, with the result that in 1903 the 6 pupils took the examination (in Arithmetic, English, History, Geography, Scripture, and Drawing) and all received Merit Certificates.<sup>1</sup> Two of the pupils had been awarded Marshall Trust Bursaries of £10 per annum for two years, and a few years later another pupil was awarded a similar bursary. However, this scheme

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1. Annual Reports of Glasgow Institution for 1901, 1902, & 1903.



for higher education had to be discontinued for financial reasons, and nothing more was done in this direction until a similar experiment was tried out at Henderson Row in 1920.

Of the £5 5/- grant which the government paid in respect of pupils being satisfactorily educated in schools for the deaf, £2 2/- had to be earned by "a course in manual instruction approved by the Department". The Royal Commission, in their report of 1889, had recommended the introduction of industrial handicrafts as part of the curriculum after the age of 12 or 13, but such an emphasis on hand work at all stages of the child's school life had not been envisaged. Little more than drawing had been attempted previously and so the schools had to hasten to discover appropriate forms of handwork and include them in their curricula if they were to qualify for the full grant. Some form of kindergarten work was the obvious choice for the younger children, and this, in various forms, was introduced into all the schools. It generally consisted of paper cutting and folding, stick laying, mat work, and similar occupations. Sewing was also commenced with the younger girls. For the older pupils a variety of occupations were tried out. "Hand and Eye" Training" as exemplified by the Sloyd Scheme of woodwork was just coming into vogue, and this was seized upon as a particularly suitable form of training for deaf boys over the age of 12. From Glasgow an assistant was sent to Näås in Sweden, where the scheme originated, for <sup>a</sup> course of training in the summer of 1891, whilst at the same time Edinburgh Institution sent two of its staff to Ilkley College for similar training. Clay modelling was also introduced for the older boys. The older girls continued with sewing, but classes in cookery were also begun in the Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee Institution. Both at Edinburgh and Glasgow these were taken under the supervision of a teacher from the local school of cookery. Laundry-work was introduced at Glasgow

in 1893 and at Dundee in 1898, and, although suggested in Aberdeen (along with tailoring) the suggestion was not put into effect. However, the occupations were not necessarily confined to the sex with which they were normally associated, as, for example, in Glasgow where the junior boys were taught sewing in 1895, and in Dundee where, in the following year, all the pupils were taught sewing and knitting.

As time went on more varied schemes of manual instruction were introduced. Thus, in 1896 Glasgow introduced printing; in 1898 wood-turning formed part of the course at Aberdeen; in the following year practical and scientific dressmaking (the Anglo-Parisian system) began in Edinburgh; in 1903 Dundee started brass-work; Edinburgh bent iron work, and Glasgow cardboard modelling; in 1909 Aberdeen began lantern slide making; in 1910 tailoring was introduced at Edinburgh; and in 1911 cobbling at Dundee. Although some form of manual training was carried on at Tollcross, it was not until 1913 that a scheme of industrial training for boys and domestic science for girls was introduced. This, however, was of a more vocational nature and compared with the bootmaking and tailoring being carried on elsewhere by this time.

This period was probably the hey-day of manual training, for never again were such a diversity of occupations followed. As a form of pre-vocational training they had, of course their uses, but their main purpose was educational rather than vocational. As Haycock reported<sup>1</sup>, the results served "to show the pupils the powers that lie within them, the mental and moral discipline of conscientious work, and the improvement in skill." Here was a branch of education in which the deaf

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1. At the 4th Biennial Conference of the N.A.T.D. (1903) Report p.90.



were not handicapped by their deafness and in consequence it was a branch in which their work showed to much advantage. Accordingly samples were shown at various exhibitions and many awards were gained. In 1898 at Greenock and Coatbridge Exhibitions the work of the Glasgow School received a Gold Medal and an Honour Diploma, in 1900 some of it was chosen to go to the Paris Exhibition, and in 1904 at the East End Exhibition, a Bronze Medal was obtained. In 1900, 1904, and 1905, the Edinburgh School received prizes at the Edinburgh Industrial Exhibition, and in 1903 several prizes at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition at Kirkcaldy. Haycock, of the Glasgow School, became so well-known for his work in this branch of education that he was appointed a member of the Examination Board of the Handwork Association of Scotland, and, in 1905 was made a Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

There is a third aspect of the curriculum to which attention must be drawn, and that is physical education. It has already been noted how the health of the children in the institutions was carefully watched. By careful attention to diet and the provision of various medical specialists little was left undone that could be done in this respect. At the same time a more positive approach had been made through the introduction of drill and swimming into the curricula of the various institutions. From 1890 onwards there was an increasingly large amount of time and attention paid to physical education. Drill, in the purely military sense, was gradually being pushed into the background although it had by no means disappeared, as witness an exhibition of drill with bar-bells given at Edinburgh in 1890, or the use of bar-bells by girls and carbines by boys in drill and

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1. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol.3 p. 371.



marching at Glasgow in 1897. In its place gymnastics and Swedish Drill were being introduced. From 1888 the headmaster of the Edinburgh Institution taught the boys gymnastics daily until, in 1895, the school was divided into three classes for this purpose (Senior Boys, Junior Boys, and Girls) and each class received instruction for two hours per week. In addition they received a further two hours per week instruction in swimming in the evenings. In Glasgow, a visiting instructor came from the Y.M.C.A. to take a class in gymnastics once a week until in 1893 two playrooms were fitted with gymnastic apparatus and all the children had a regular daily session there. At Aberdeen in 1898 gymnastics were taught at school for one hour per week (4.30 to 5.30 p.m.), but at Dundee the pupils had to attend a public gymnasium for this purpose. Not until 1903 was a gymnasium fitted out in the Dundee school, and it was nine years later before swimming instruction was given to the pupils there. Glasgow was the first institution to begin the periodic weighing and measuring of its pupils (in 1907) and this attempt to keep a careful record of the physical development of its pupils spread fairly quickly to the other institutions. Early in the field in the consideration of the physical welfare of their pupils, the institutions for the deaf remained in the forefront in all developments of this kind, for not only did they feel a responsibility for the health of the pupils whilst in residence, but they believed that intellectual development was most promising when the body was sound, and that the discipline engendered in such lessons might very well be "transferred" to the ordinary work of the classroom. Furthermore, it was another branch of education where the deaf could compete with hearing children on more or less equal terms.

As a useful summary of the curriculum and an illustration of how the children in institutions spent their day towards the end of the



century, the timetables of the Edinburgh and Dundee Institutions may be cited. In examining these it must be remembered that Edinburgh was working on the "Combined" system and Dundee on the "silent" system.

General Time-table for Edinburgh Institution for the Deaf (1896)<sup>1</sup>

7 a.m.	Children rise.	Housework.	
8 a.m.	Breakfast		
9-11	School subjects.		
11-12.15	Manual Work	Needlework	Clay Modelling
		Cooking(once a week)	Cardboard Modelling
		Slojd	Kindergarten
12.15	Swimming		
	Recreation		
1 pm.	Dinner		
1.20	Recreation		
2.15-4.30	School Subjects		
5-6.30	Needlework		
	Tailoring		
	Gymnastics & Drill		
	Recreation		
6.30	Supper		
7-8	Preparation Lesson		
	Gymnastics & Drill		
8 pm.	Children retire		

School Time-table of Dundee Institution for the Deaf (1898)<sup>2</sup>

9.30 am.	Prayer and Religious Instruction	
10. am.	Monday )	
	Wednesday )	Government Needlework & Kindergarten
	Friday )	
	Tuesday )	
	Thursday )	Drawing
11 am.	Arithmetic and Numeration	
	Tuesday - Cookery for Senior Girls	
	Thursday - Laundry-work " "	
12.0	Break - Recreation, Dinner, &c.	
2.0 pm.	Seniors - Writing in Copybooks.	
	Juniors - 2-4 pm. Writing and Spelling; Signing the names of Common Things; Short Sentences from Object Lessons.	
2.30 pm.	Seniors Monday )	
	Wednesday )	Language & Composition
	Friday )	
	Tuesday )	Geography
	Thursday )	History & General Information.
3.30 pm.	Seniors Composition - Sentences from Illustrated Papers	
4 pm.	Benediction.	
<u>Sunday</u>	11.30 am. Divine Service	
	3 pm. Sabbath School	
	6.30 pm. Explanation of Bible Pictures	

The morning is devoted to housework. - Before breakfast: sweeping the children's rooms downstairs, tidying the grounds, outhouses, &c; after breakfast: making beds, sweeping the children's rooms upstairs.&c.

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution 1896.
  2. " " Dundee " 1898.



The content of the curriculum has so far been almost entirely confined to the residential institutions. The main reason for this is that the records of these schools are much more complete in this matter, but at the same time there is no evidence to suggest that the work of the day schools varied to any appreciable extent from what has already been outlined, save in the amount of time that was devoted to manual training and the fact that work for the day ceased not later than 4 pm. As far as language training was concerned, the type of classroom work would seem to have been very similar to that of the institutions, with the added difficulty of having to cater for a wide divergence of ages and abilities within the same class owing to the smallness of the numbers involved. The teaching may have been less systematic, but on the other hand, it clearly satisfied visiting inspectors, and was probably no better and no worse (making allowances for the difficulties already noted) than that which was given in the larger institutions. On the otherhand, the day schools found it much more difficult to satisfy the inspectors in respect of the handwork syllabus. Here the difficulties of small numbers and a wide variety of ages, along with the impossibility of one teacher being a jack-of-all-trades, meant that either outside help had to be sought, or else the scheme was inadequate. Kindergarten work for the younger pupils and sewing and knitting for the girls was established early in most schools, but catering for the older boys was usually the problem, particularly in the smaller schools and classes. This was solved at Govan, in 1894, by the introduction of clay-modelling, and at Greenock and Paisley by sending the boys out for wood-carving. In 1896 the inspector complained that the manual work in the Dundee day school was inadequate for the grant, and as a result the older boys there



were sent out for woodwork lessons. This school was one of the larger day schools and therefore was able to make better arrangements for its pupils, so that by 1907 the handwork syllabus consisted of paper folding, basket weaving, and woodwork, for the boys, and sewing, knitting, dress-making, cookery, and housewifery, for the girls. Aberdeen day school, opening in 1904, began to give the older boys instruction in woodwork in 1907.

Much the same difficulties presented themselves to the day schools over the matter of physical education. Naturally enough, they were less concerned with the health of their pupils than the residential institutions, whilst the smallness of the numbers and the wide varieties in age range made physical education difficult, and such things as gymnastics almost impossible. Dundee day school, however, introduced drill in 1896, whilst the Aberdeen day school sent out its boys for gymnastic training to the Central School from 1910 onwards.

The re-introduction of the oral system had got off to a slow start in the residential institutions. During the next twenty-five years the pace quickened perceptibly but there was still considerable reluctance amongst the headmasters to burn their boats and confine the instruction given entirely to the oral method. Their conservatism was mainly due to the fact that they had been brought up on a silent system which, whatever else might be said about it, did appear to produce a fair standard of written (or finger-spelled) language ability. They were afraid that oralism would not result in an equivalent standard being reached, although by their very timidity they prevented the experimental evidence, which would have proved or disproved the case, from being provided. Instead they preferred to



accept the compromise of the 'combined' method, which, however large and its other protagonists might defend it, neither produced satisfactory oral results, nor attained the higher standard of written expression, on the other. It is true that the results it achieved were not negligible, but it was either wasting the time of the pupils by teaching them some speech and lipreading, or wasting their time by teaching them signs and fingerspelling. It is noticeable, however, that there was, during this period, a slight swing in favour of the teaching of speech - the schools which had been entirely silent now went over to the combined method, whilst those which had been working on the combined method tended to become more oral.

In 1890, the Inspector visiting the Glasgow school reported rather ingeniously that in the third highest class instruction was wholly oral, but "if the pupils do not understand, signs are used."<sup>1</sup> The following year, however, a teacher was obtained from the training college at Fitzroy Square and she conducted a class on the "Pure Oral" system. It was then promised that all the other classes would adopt this system "as circumstances allow". Apparently it was the custom to try out all the new pupils with the oral system, but those who were regarded as unsuitable (upon what grounds was never defined) were placed in the fingerspelling or silent classes. In any case all the pupils in whatever class they were placed, were taught the manual alphabet. Speech sounds were taught from a lesson-book compiled by Kinsey of the Ealing Training College, but it was pointed out that most schools and teachers had different methods of this - there was no perfect system.<sup>2</sup> It was suggested by the Inspector, during his visit in 1893, that if the oral system was to have a fair trial it would be

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1. Annual Report of the Glasgow Institution for 1890.

2. v. Addison & Kerr Love: "Deaf-Mutism" p. 278.



necessary to effect some sort of segregation, at least to the extent of providing separate classrooms. A sub-committee of the Directors, however, paid a visit to other schools and institutions as a result of which they declared that segregation did not improve articulation and lip-reading. In fact, they seem to have returned to Glasgow favouring the "combined system", if anything. At any rate, little emphasis on the oral system can be found from then on, and, although, certain pupils were taught orally, it was the "combined system" which was used with most of the scholars. This was clearly emphasised by the Directors in their report for 1908, whilst in 1913 they restated their case that "as far as possible pupils are taught to speak and lip-read, but with many this is not easy, and writing has necessarily to take its place. Even where a creditable degree of speech is attained, fingerspelling, provided it is used as a subsidiary to lipreading, is very useful."<sup>1</sup>

After making a start with the oral system about 1888 Illingworth, at Edinburgh, seems to have lost his enthusiasm, and for the next ten years there are no reports of it having been practised. In 1898, it was pointed out that "lipreading is practised to a limited extent and some of the children are able to articulate words, especially numbers, with tolerable distinctness."<sup>2</sup> Except to a few who showed "aptitude", and those who had lost their hearing after the acquisition of speech, there seems to have been little attempt at this time to teach speech. In 1904 interest in oralism revived again and a special class with 8 pupils was started on this method. The experiment, however, never made a great deal of progress and by the outbreak of the first World War, the school was in fact operating on the "combined system".

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1. Report of Glasgow Institution for 1913 p.6.

2. By the Inspector. v. Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1898 p.9.



Large, at Donaldson's Hospital, was the greatest protagonist of the "combined system", and, unlike his contemporaries, had never swerved in his views. Consequently, until his retirement in 1899, Donaldson's Hospital used the "combined system" almost entirely. Large's one concession to the oralists was the introduction of a separate class for the "semi-Deaf" and the "semi-mute" where they were taught orally. Of course, some speech and lipreading was taught under the "combined" system" and Addison (who was, however, a somewhat biased reporter) told the International Conference of 1907 that "one of the best speaking and lipreading classes I have ever seen was at Donaldson's Hospital".<sup>1</sup> On the retiral of Large, the system remained unchanged, although there would appear to be a slightly greater emphasis on oralism and rather less on fingerspelling.<sup>2</sup> On his first official visit to the Hospital in 1904, the Inspector reported that "all the pupils have an opportunity of learning lipreading, and if they show no aptitude after repeated trials they are allowed to use finger-signs. A very large proportion are taught lip-speech in which the highest class show great proficiency."<sup>3</sup> More details are given about the methods, however, are given by an ex-pupil who stated that "a beginning is made with the manual method immediately after admission. After the first month, by which time they have learned a few simple words and also a very few simple sentences, two periods of half-an-hour per day are devoted to instruction in lip-reading and articulation. In the second year half-an-hour each day is given to articulation and children are encouraged to use speech in

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1. v. Report of Nat.Conference p.110.

2. It was suggested by the school that 10 % of the pupils were incapable of learning by the oral method.

(v. Minutes of Aberdeen School Board 23rd.Dec.1902 p.365)

3. Quoted in the "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol.2. p.94.



their ordinary lessons. Those who show special aptitude for speech are drafted into special classes and taught in the oral method."<sup>1</sup> Thus, though it would seem to be accurate to say that the staff of Donaldson's Hospital still taught mainly on the "combined system", there would appear to have been some classes which were conducted on the oral system, or a close approximation to it.

It has been noted in a previous chapter that a start was made with oralism in Aberdeen about 1877. The then headmaster, however, retired in 1881 and he was succeeded by Pender who would appear to have been less favourable to the oral system. At any rate, there is no mention of it being used again up to the end of the century. However, probably in the early years of the twentieth century, some speech and articulation teaching was begun again and the method of the school may be said to have gone over to the "combined system." Certainly by 1913, it was reported<sup>2</sup> that the principal mode of instruction was the sign method, but that each child was also taught the oral method, and some of the children "speak remarkably well". It seems that a certain amount of confusion as to what exactly the oral system implied, existed in the minds of those responsible for the report. The children could not be taught both by the sign and oral methods simultaneously and therefore probably what was meant was that some articulation and lipreading were taught although the principal method of communication was by means of signs - in other words, the "combined system."

As long as Barland remained headmaster at Dundee, the silent method continued to be the chief means of instruction. When, however, Hansell took over from him in the autumn of 1902, he immediately

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1. Quoted in "Aberdeen Journal" Notes and Queries Vol 7 (1914) p 43.

2. In Annual Report of Aberdeen Institution for 1913.



changed over to the "combined method". He did not favour pure oralism, and though he saw some value in teaching speech and lipreading, he was not prepared to go any further in this direction and was satisfied with the results he achieved under the "combined system".

Although the Sisters at Smyllum Orphanage had begun their work under the oral system, this method had been superseded by the silent one in 1870. No records exist of it having been used again until the beginning of the century in spite of the fact that one of the Sisters passed the examination for a certificate from the Fitzroy Square Training College.<sup>1</sup> It seems unlikely that she would not seek to put her knowledge to some practical use, but the influence could not have been strong enough to counteract the existing tendency in other directions. After a visit to the kindred institution at Boston Spa, where the oral system was employed, the Sisters at Smyllum decided to reintroduce it into their own school. A class of ten partially deaf children was got together in 1906, and, a teacher trained in the oral system being obtained from Leeds, a start was once again made with the oral system. It was slowly expanded to take in more children and, by the time the school moved to Tollcross, there was a considerable proportion of the pupils who were being educated on this system. In the new school, the children being taught under each system occupied different classrooms.

Dr. Kerr Love, writing in 1911, suggested that, on the whole, the results obtained in the Scottish Institutions were poor and not comparable to those being obtained in London, Manchester, or the best schools in America. This he attributed to the fact that teachers in Scotland were poorly paid, and therefore, as a class, poorly qualified;

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1. v. Annual Report of Association for Oral Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. 1887 p. 13.



and, secondly, to the fact/<sup>that</sup> there was no experienced inspector of schools for the deaf in Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

The day schools, without exception, had started their existence using oral methods. In most cases such methods were continued, but in a few cases there was a modification either to the combined method, or to a separation between those who could be taught orally and those whose instruction was considered to be better carried on silently.

Aberdeen day school continued to use the oral system in spite of the efforts of the Directors of the Institution to effect some sort of compromise. The School Board were quite firm in their conclusion "that the mixing of the oral and the fingerspelling pupils does not work,"<sup>2</sup> and were content to go their own way. However, they retained an open mind on the matter and, after an assault on their position by the Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Society in 1913, they made enquiries into the opinions of other school boards. On the whole, it was agreed that oralism was the best method although there were some conflicting opinions, and, consequently, the Aberdeen School Board very fairly decided that if any child was not found to be benefitting from the oral system after a two-years' trial, it could be removed to a fingerspelling school.<sup>3</sup>

It would appear that the school, Hamilton also retained its oral methods of teaching in spite of pressure brought to bear from various quarters. This came mainly from the Deaf and Dumb Adult Missions who attributed a supposedly lower standard of linguistic attainment, on the part of ex-pupils of the day schools, to the oral method. The point is obviously an important one, but lacking concrete

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1. "The Deaf Child" p. 111.

2. Minutes of Aberdeen School Board 24th April 1908 p.117.

3. ibid 28th November 1913 p. 318.



evidence either for the defence or the prosecution, it cannot be pursued further here.

On the 31st October 1897 the Ayrshire Deaf and Dumb Adult Mission wrote a letter to the Ayr Burgh School Board to point out that the Greenock school had given up the "pure oral" system and recommended that they should do the same. Now we must suppose that this was done in good faith although in May of the previous year the Greenock school Log Book clearly stated<sup>1</sup> that oral methods were being used, and it is not until the Inspector's Report of 1906 that we find that a few pupils at Greenock, who were unable to make satisfactory progress by the oral method, were being taught by signs.<sup>2</sup> Of course, a change at the end of 1897 is possible and we must give the Mission the benefit of the doubt. However, the Ayr School Board were not at all perturbed by the information and they pointed out to the Mission that it was the combined system which was in use in the class at Ayr. Nevertheless, after a change of headmistress in the following year, the oral system seems to have been established there, although it was agreed that if any pupil was incapable of being instructed by means of the oral system, the headmistress could adopt signs.<sup>3</sup> In 1904, and again in 1907 and 1912, the Adult Mission complained to the School Board about the method of instruction employed in the class at Ayr, but the reply in each case was the same - to the effect that the method was approved by His Majesty's Inspector, and any complaints should be sent to the Scottish Education Department.

Paisley, in 1904, however, went over to the 'combined system'. In January of that year, a motion to that effect was introduced at a

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1. Greenock School Log Book 15th May 1896.

2. *ibid* H.M. Inspector's Report for 1906.

3. Ayr Burgh School Board Minutes 18th November 1901.



School Board Meeting and carried by a narrow majority.<sup>1</sup> Quite how the matter originated is not clear, for no previous criticism of the <sup>oral</sup> method had been made. However, the decision was made, and the headmistress had to carry out the wishes of her employers.

It is not clear what methods were used in the class at Govan at this time, although it would seem that they were mainly oral. However the evidence suggests that one or two pupils, not having succeeded in learning by this method, used fingerspelling, and, possibly, signs.

Here again the criticism of Dr. Kerr Love is relevant. He declared that in Paisley, Greenock, and Govan, "the work in the schools seems to suffer from two causes 1. the schools are too small to admit of classification, and 2. the teachers are often those who have been trained to use the combined method, and not having enough faith in oralism, do not practise it with the necessary thoroughness."<sup>2</sup>

At Dundee, with a change of headmistress, there was a change of policy. In May 1904, Miss Crassweller, who had guided the fortunes of the school since its commencement, left to take charge of the new day school at Aberdeen, and her successor had only been in office for a couple of months when it was decided to abandon oralism in favour of the combined method.<sup>3</sup> In 1906 the Inspector reported that the new system was working well and that the "articulation was wonderfully fluent and intelligible."<sup>4</sup> No further changes took place at Dundee during the period under consideration.

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1. Paisley Burgh School Board Minutes January 1904 p.4.

2. "The Deaf Child" p. 112.

3. Log Book, Dundee School for the Deaf Nov 9 1904.

4. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol 4 p. 21.

### 5. Dr. James Kerr Love and the Education of Partially Deaf Children.

Towards the end of the year 1890 the Directors of the Glasgow Institution took the important step of appointing an honorary aurist to the school. This was the first time, in Scotland, that such a specialist had been appointed, for, although medical officers had been appointed almost from the inception of each institution, the work was of a general nature and was concerned mainly with the maintenance of good health amongst the pupils through attention to normal amenities, dietaries, prevention of the spread of infectious diseases, and, of course, medical attention where actual illness existed. Although discharging ears were dealt with as they occurred, it was no part of the duties of such physicians to examine the ears of the pupils or make any assessment of their hearing loss.

Glasgow Institution was particularly fortunate in its choice, since the young specialist chosen - Dr. James Kerr Love - immediately entered upon his duties with such a zest and enquiring mind that he quickly opened up entirely fresh vistas in the education of the deaf in Scotland. Within 18 months of his appointment he had not only examined the ears of all the children in the institution, but had also tested their hearing. His first, rather staggering, contention was that only about half a dozen of the pupils (less than 5%) were totally deaf, and that the remaining 95% had some residual hearing to a greater or less degree.<sup>1</sup> Of these, Kerr Love suggested that about 30 (25%) were only partially deaf and were therefore not receiving the particular kind of education which their needs warranted. For them he suggested the auricular or acoustic method (a method which involved

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1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1891.



making use of their residual hearing by means of a hearing tube ) which had been tried out in Paris and New York. This was clearly an unexpected attack. It is true that it had always been recognised that there were a number of children in the schools classified as "semi-deaf", but the suggestion that they should be educated on different lines from the deaf was extremely novel, whilst the statement that most of the children in the schools had some residual hearing was so unusual that no one seemed clear what to make of it or what the full implications were.

Prior to Dr. Kerr Love's investigation into the hearing of the pupils of the Glasgow Institution, another Glasgow doctor - Dr. Barr - had investigated the hearing of children attending normal schools. Of 600 such children whom he tested in 1889 (using the watch and whispered speech tests) he found that 166, or 27% , had defects of hearing. In giving these results Barr pointed out that much that was put down to laziness or stupidity in the schools was therefore probably due to defects of hearing.<sup>1</sup> This most promising line of thought, however, does not appear to have been pursued further at this time, and the problems of incidence and their implications would appear to have been neglected by workers in this field.

Kerr Love seems to have communicated some of his enthusiasm for research in this direction to Addison, the headmaster of the school. From this time onwards we find them working together in close partnership and many of the suggestions made by Kerr Love were supported by practical proposals from Addison. That these were not always carried out was not the fault of the investigators, nor could it even be attributed to the directors of the Institution, who, however well-meaning their intentions might be, were nevertheless

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1. "Quarterly Review of Deaf Mute Education" Vol 2. p.155.



almost always severely hampered by financial consideration.

The testing of the children's hearing continued and by 1893, 175 pupils had had their hearing examined by means of a bell, a watch, and whispered speech. In some cases the Galton Whistle and Politzer Acoumeter were used.<sup>1</sup> The results of these tests lowered Kerr Love's original estimate of the number of partially deaf children, but he was still quite certain that 15 % of the pupils fell into this category. These, he declared, were being educated on a method "decidedly wrong, so wrong, that it is a question whether their admission to your Institution is at all a blessing to them".<sup>2</sup> Strong words indeed, but only strong words could carry the strength of his convictions and convey the sense of urgency that he felt in this matter. For these children he again reiterated his belief that the methods of teaching ought to be entirely reconsidered and that the acoustic method should be substituted. This method would make use of ear trumpets, conversation tubes, and any such potential aids to hearing, although of course it would probably need the oral method to back it up. His point of view can perhaps best be summarised in his statement that "provided fair progress can be attained, that method should be adopted which least departs from the one by which hearing children learn".<sup>3</sup> In view of his abhorrence of fingerspelling and signs for this class of children, Kerr Love suggested that a separate school should be started for them, and in this he was backed up by Addison. Financial difficulties, however, were so great that the Directors of the Institution could not even think of attempting to put this plan into operation.

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1. For a description of the hearing tests employed see "Deaf Mutism"

2. Kerr Love and Addison: "A Statement on Methods of Education" (1903) p. 60.

3. Address to the Philosophical Society of Glasgow 8th. Feb 1893. p. 3.  
(in "Papers on Deaf-Mutism" p 9).



Another facet of Kerr Love's early work was his enquiry into the causes of deafness. From his investigation of the admission forms of the pupils of the Glasgow Institution, he found that the number of cases of congenital deafness and acquired deafness were roughly equal, with, perhaps, a slight preponderance of congenital cases (55-60 %). In his most detailed study, "Deaf-Mutism", written in conjunction with Addison in 1896, he set out to study these various causes. He suggested that by proper medical treatment, many of the infectious diseases of infancy and childhood such as measles and scarlet fever, a large number of the cases of acquired deafness would cease to occur and that therefore the number of children requiring special educational treatment would be reduced (perhaps even by half). At the same time he investigated the causes of congenital deafness, as a result of which he came to the conclusion that many of them were hereditary. From a study of a number of families in which cases of congenital deafness had occurred with almost unfailing regularity in every generation, he concluded that the Mendelian laws of inheritance operated. This was as far as he went in 1896, but in the following year in an address to the Royal Society of Edinburgh he suggested that the deaf who carried such further handicaps as idiocy and epilepsy were unfit to marry and should be prevented by sterilisation from propagating their kind. This suggestion was met with cries of horror from the Society who branded its author as cruel and brutal, with the result that the address was never published.<sup>1</sup>

His primary object was, of course, to reduce as far as humanly possible the cases of deafness by striking at their causes. But his work went further than that. Realising that deafness could not

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1. See Kerr Love: "Lectures on Causes and Prevention of Deafness" (1915) p.118.



be entirely eradicated, he saw the need "to found a scientific classification of the deaf for educational purposes".<sup>1</sup> Before making any suggestions in this direction, Kerr Love realised that there were two things to be done - the testing of the hearing of the children, and the study of methods of classification employed in other countries. In connection with the latter, and, in conjunction with Addison, he made a series of tours of the schools for the deaf in England, Germany, Denmark, and America, in the early years of the century. In almost every case he indicted the system because of the lack of "careful clinical observation into the physical condition of young deaf children and the consequent bungling of their education".<sup>2</sup> He was, however, impressed with the system used in Denmark and its neighbour Schleswig-Holstein. In these states it was the practice to send all deaf children to a preparatory school for two years where the oral method was employed exclusively. At the end of that period the children were classified according to their ability to profit by the continuance of that system. Those who could (and they included the semi-deaf and semi-mute) were sent to schools where the oral method was used, whilst those who had shown no ability to profit from the oral system at the preparatory stage were sent to a separate school where silent methods were used. This seemed to Kerr Love to be an appropriate, though not necessarily ideal, method of classification. However, during the winters of 1902-05 he was completing the other part of his programme, namely the testing of the hearing of the 100 oldest pupils in the Glasgow School.<sup>3</sup> The testing was done in an

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1. Preface to "Deaf-Mutism" p. v.

2. "Study of the Deaf Child" (1907) p. 25.

3. This was part of a research into the "Residual Hearing Power in the Deaf" for which he had received a Carnegie Grant of £60 ("Teacher of the Deaf" Vol.1 p. 139).



extremely careful manner by Besold's "Continuous Tone" series of tuning forks. The result of these tests gave a fairly accurate picture of the children's hearing over the frequencies from 16 cycles per second to 50,000 cycles per second. It was a tedious method, but it was the most accurate that had then been devised. As a result of the tests Kerr Love found that 20% of the children were semi-deaf or semi-mute; 62 % were congenitally severely deaf; whilst 11 % were also congenitally severely deaf but, in addition, were dull intellectually. The remaining 7 % were doubtful cases.<sup>1</sup> He concluded that the 20 % plus an unknown number of the 62% should be taught orally, whilst the remainder would be better taught silently, and suggested that as soon as possible after admission children should be examined and classified. The two classes would, of course, be taught in separate schools.

For nearly fifteen years Kerr Love had been advocating the adoption of this better system of classification, dependent upon hearing loss, and entailing the segregation of the children to be taught under the two different systems. Mainly for financial reasons the Directors of the Glasgow Institution had not seen their way to take up those ideas, and it is indicative of Kerr Love's character that despite these set-backs he continued resolutely to put them forward on every possible occasion. After their return from Denmark in 1905, he and Addison petitioned the Directors on classification,

the need for separate treatment, and the introduction of day pupils. Once again nothing came of the plea,<sup>but</sup> about the same time another door opened. There was an epidemic of cerebro-spinal fever in Glasgow in 1905, and a number of the children who recovered from this highly

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1. "Study of the Deaf Child" p.47.



destructive disease were found to have lost their hearing. The School Board of Glasgow, whose responsibility these children were, asked Kerr Love's advice on their future educational treatment, and his reply was the suggestion that a special day-school should be opened. This advice was fortunately accepted and in August 1908 a special class for these children was begun in a classroom of the Tureen Street School. There were at first about 8 or 10 of these children; but Kerr Love, seizing his opportunity as consultant to this newly-started class, introduced some other children who were suffering from a partial defect of hearing through disease of the middle ear and who were too deaf to attend an ordinary elementary school.

Thus was the first school for partially deaf children in Britain begun.<sup>1</sup> The numbers rapidly increased to 16, and in 1909 two classrooms were obtained in Dovehill School, near Glasgow Cross, to which the school was moved on January 11th 1910. Miss Parkinson, from the school at Leeds, was the first headmistress of the school, but she resigned in the following year and Miss Douglas was appointed. Naturally enough the methods suggested by Kerr Love were tried out in the school. The basis of instruction was the oral method but, in addition, a tube hearing-apparatus was provided so that as much acoustic training as possible could be given.

Numbers multiplied and by 1910 there were 45 pupils on the roll. At the same time it was felt that even with the compulsory age for school attendance standing at 5, deaf children were not being admitted early enough. Here again, the prime mover was Dr. Kerr Love. He saw the need for the earliest possible beginning if deaf children

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1. They were already in existence in Denmark by the beginning of the century.



were to obtain the full benefits of education, and, although he had no say in the affairs of the institution, he was at any rate able to make suggestions to the School Board, who were most amenable.

Accordingly, having received the prior sanction of Sir John Struthers at the Scottish Education Department, arrangements were made for a teacher (Miss Margaret Martin) to visit the homes of deaf children between the ages of 3 and 5 and give the mothers some help in dealing with their children. This was a very satisfactory arrangement, but at the same time some of the mothers expressed their willingness to allow their children, although under school age, to attend a special nursery school where there would be greater opportunities for making a start with their education. In addition, there were some homes in which, for varying causes (lack of interest, deafness of parents, &c) such training was difficult, if not impossible. The School Board was prevailed upon to meet this need and, accordingly, in 1911 a Nursery School was opened in St. David's School, Kay Street under the direction of the Misses Martin and Scharina. At the same time the home training was continued with those children whose mothers preferred to have them at home. The mothers of the children who were at school were encouraged to visit the school and learn something of the methods adopted there. Altogether most satisfactory results were obtained in this, the first nursery school for partially deaf children in Britain, and it was suggested that this was the practical solution to the problem that "much of the difficulty met with in the education of the deaf is due to mental deadness in the pre-school years!"<sup>1</sup>

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1. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol 11 p.145. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kerr Love suggested that lack of language development arrested mental development, with the consequence that at 7 years of age the brain of a deaf child was smaller than that of a hearing child.



Kerr Love's years of waiting had not been in vain, and in the space of a few years many of the ideas which he had so ceaselessly and fearlessly put forward had at length borne fruit. They were adopted only, of course, in Glasgow, but they were none the less valuable on that account for they pointed a way which, however tardily, has been accepted as the modern basis for classification.

Although the further development of these two schools for partially deaf children in Glasgow can be left until the following chapter, it is perhaps not inappropriate here to conclude the account of the work of Dr. Kerr Love.

His greatest contribution was, of course, his insistence on the need for a proper system of classification. He suggested that much of the controversies over methods would be resolved if it was realised that the deaf were not a homogeneous group. The motto should therefore be: "Forget the system, study the deaf child";<sup>1</sup> and in this emphasis on the importance of considering the needs of the individual

child he anticipated much of modern educational psychology. Although in his early days he was not enthusiastic about day schools, feeling that the children there got an inferior education,<sup>2</sup> yet his views on this subject underwent a complete reversal during the first decade of the twentieth century and he could later assert that, with the exception of the mentally defective deaf child, all deaf children should either attend a day school or be boarded out with foster parents near the school.<sup>3</sup> His reasons for this change of attitude were twofold - the influence of home life and parental love on the

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1. "Study of the Deaf Child" (1907) p 3.

2. "Deaf Mutism" (1896) p.340.

3. "The Deaf Child" (1911) p. 14.



development of the child, and the prevention of the segregation of the deaf as a class as a result of which much intermarriage between them took place with a consequent increased probability of handing on the disability to the offspring of the marriages.

By 1911, with the bulk of his pioneering work done, Kerr Love was able to point out what he considered to be the main requisites for the future successful development of the education of the deaf.<sup>1</sup> These were:-

1. Scientific classification based on clinical observation.
2. A belief in speech as the best instrument of thought for the deaf.
3. The extension of the school leaving age from 16 to 18.
4. An extension of the day school system.
5. Transference of the schools to the control of ordinary school authorities.
6. Encouragement of teachers to visit other schools both at home and abroad.
7. Establishment of a training college for teachers of the deaf.
8. Preliminary training of very young deaf children either in nursery schools or by visiting teachers in the home of the child.

Although by about 1912 his career had reached its climax and his original contributions to the work had largely ceased, he nevertheless continued to work unceasingly to bring about those aims which he had so clearly set out. At the beginning of 1914 he was appointed Lecturer in Diseases of the Ear at the University of Glasgow, and in this capacity was able to inspire his students with the necessity for research into problems connected with deafness. Ten years later he became President of the Section of Otology of the Royal Society of Medicine, where he was also able to direct attention to the needs of the deaf. The success of much of his work is revealed in the statistics which he presented to this latter body in 1932.<sup>2</sup> Whereas between 1891 and 1931 the population of Scotland had increased by 17 %, the number of children attending schools for the deaf had

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1. *ibid* pp. 151-5.

2. Quoted in the "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol. xxx pp 39 et seq.

only increased by 2 %. This was largely accounted for by the decrease in the number of cases of acquired deafness. These had fallen from 50 % of the total in 1895 to 27.8 % of the total in 1931. Medical inspection and treatment, the careful attention to the ear complications following such diseases as scarlet fever and measles, better food, better clothing, and better housing, had all played their part in bringing this about, and, particularly in regard to the first two, Dr. Kerr Love had played a leading part in their adoption. In the prevention of congenital deafness he urged birth control and treatment for venereal diseases.

Perhaps the event which caused Kerr Love the greatest pleasure was the honorary graduation of Helen Keller at Glasgow University in 1932. An old correspondent and a great source of inspiration to him, Kerr Love saw in her visit the vindication of much of his teaching in the eyes of the public and an encouragement to all those already engaged in work amongst the deaf.

Although Kerr Love's death only occurred in 1942 yet his work and worth are already fast slipping into limbo. It is not right that this should be so, for much of his work (although first produced 40 to 50 years ago) has a real value for the student of deaf education today. Great advances, of course, there have been, but often on the lines he mapped out, and in any case they should not blind us to the need for paying tribute to one of the greatest workers in the field of education of the deaf that Scotland has produced.

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## CHAPTER 7.

### BETWEEN TWO WARS. (1914-1939)

#### 1. Legislation affecting the Education of the Deaf.

During this period two pieces of legislation had a major effect on the education of the Deaf in Scotland. These were the Education Act of 1918 and the Education Act of 1936, and this section will be mainly centred round these two acts.

It has been said that it requires a war or other equally violent social upheaval to cause a major change in educational policy. It is true that during such catastrophic events a nation becomes a more conscious unity and tends, amongst other things, to see its responsibilities to its successors, or, as Karl Mannheim has put it: "By making the necessary adaptations to the needs of war one does not always realise that very often they contain also the principles of adaptation to the needs of a New Age."<sup>1</sup>

Whether or not this generalisation is justified the fact remains that the 1918 Education Act was a direct outcome of the Great War of 1914-18. With the details of this Act we are not here concerned except those that referred to the education of deaf children. In this connection the changes which were made were incorporated in Sect. 32 para. 3, and were amendments to the Act of 1890. The first amendment raised the permissive age to which children might remain at school to 18. There was no compulsion on parents to retain their children at school until this age, but if they desired to do so, the local authorities were given powers to pay the cost of education and

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1. In "Diagnosis of our Time".

maintenance up to this age and were indeed required to do so. The other amendment concerned children at the other end of the scale and attendance, which under the 1890 Act had been compulsory only from the age of 7, was now to be enforced below that age, and in fact from the age of 5. In addition, it was permissive for the local authorities to pay for the board and education of children over 3 years of age if the parents desired that they should be sent to school.

Obviously such amendments, simple enough in themselves, were quite far-reaching in their effects. They now put the deaf child on an equal footing with the hearing one by insisting that his schooling began at the same time. Furthermore they allowed him to prepare himself for a future career by allowing him to remain at school for an additional two years which would presumably be spent in some form of vocational training. This greatly extended the school life of the child because instead of beginning at 7 and then spending part of his time from the age of 13 or 14 in vocational or pre-vocational training, he could now give his undivided attention to the acquisition of speech and language from the age of 5 (or younger) to the age of 16. If vocational training was wanted, then there were the years between 16 and 18 when training could be given for all, or almost all, of the time.

However, there was one anomaly which the Act had not removed and that was the fact that parents of deaf children were required to pay for their education whilst all other children could receive their education free. The Act of 1890 had laid down that the local authorities were empowered to pay for the elementary education of deaf children where the parent was "from poverty" unable to afford it.



This had not been altered by the Act of 1918, so that there was still a "poverty clause" in existence of which, naturally enough, local authorities were not slow to take advantage. It is true that some did not do this, and that others charged for maintenance but not for education; but it was obviously an unsatisfactory state of affairs when the parent of a deaf child was being penalised for a misfortune which was no fault of his own. In 1932 the Scoto-Irish Branch of the National College of Teachers of the Deaf<sup>1</sup> sent out a questionnaire on this subject, as a result of which it was found that 12 authorities did not charge the parents for education, 9 did charge them, and 9 made charges but did not distinguish between education and maintenance. In addition 7 provided transport to and from school free, 16 charged for transport, and 4 "did not provide for" transport.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this information the Branch pressed for the amendment of the Act, as they had been doing for many years, and were to continue to do for several more.

Although the Act of 1918 had provided for the education of children between 3 and 5 there was no compulsion on authorities to pay for this although they were permitted to do so, but in fact very few of them were willing to make such payments. In the 'twenties and early 'thirties it was becoming increasingly clear that the earlier the age at which deaf children began their education, the better were their chances of becoming oral successes. However, until authorities were compelled to pay for this there was little chance of getting the children into the schools. It was felt, therefore, that a great opportunity was being lost by reason of the lack of the necessary powers, and so steps were taken to amend the law in this connection also.

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1. For the formation of this body v. *infra* p.243.  
 2. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol. xxx (1932) p.213.

Before we consider the work of the Scoto-Irish Branch of the N.C.T.D. which was the prime mover in this matter, as in many others which concerned the welfare of deaf children in Scotland, it will be necessary to go back to 1921 when another matter was causing some concern in the schools for the deaf. Although it had been the custom to limit the size of classes in deaf schools to 10 pupils, new regulations of the Scottish Education Department which came into force in 1921 allowed for 20 pupils being enrolled in a deaf class. There was an immediate protest to the Department that this was grossly in excess of the number of such pupils who could be satisfactorily taught in one class, and the Department were asked to amend the regulation. This the Department refused to do, and, although it seemed unlikely that Committees of Schools and Local Authorities would take advantage of the regulation to increase the size of classes, yet the loophole remained. However, the Department evidently thought better of their intransigent attitude and when the Final Draft Statutory Rules and Orders (1923) came into force, it was found that cap.2. sect. 13(b) had reinstated the former number of 10 as being the maximum permissible size for a class of deaf children.

In 1930 the Scoto-Irish Branch of the N.C.T.D. began a vigorous campaign for the reduction of the age at which local authorities were required to provide free education to 3, and also for the removal of the "poverty clause" from the Acts of 1890 and 1918. In this, and almost each successive year, they submitted letters of protest or memoranda to the Department on these two matters. Although in 1934 the Department went to the length of receiving a deputation from the Branch they were still extremely non-committal in their attitude, and little headway was made. A Scottish Health Services



Commission was appointed in the following year and to this the Branch, in pursuance of their policy of attrition, sent a Memorandum dealing with a number of matters concerning the deaf, including the two noted above. In addition to these two topics they also raised the problems of better classification, the examination of children for entry into schools for the deaf, the appointment of a single inspector for Scottish schools for the deaf, the supply and recruitment of male teachers of the deaf, and vocational training.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the following year the draft of the Education (Scotland) Bill of 1936 appeared and it was discovered with dismay that the protests had been of no avail - that the "poverty clause" still remained in operation and that no further provision was to be made for children below the age of 5. Determined to leave no stone unturned, the Branch drafted a memorandum on the subject, copies of which were sent to each of the Scottish Members of Parliament and also to the Scottish Education Department. The matter of the removal of the "poverty clause" was taken up by Mr. James Brown M.P. in co-operation with Mr. Tom Johnson M.P. The latter was on the point of drafting an amendment to the Bill when the Government itself (no doubt influenced by this threatened opposition) tabled an amendment to effect the removal of the obnoxious clause (Part 2 of the Act, - Clause 6 sec. 2.). Another M.P. who took up the clause of the deaf children was Mr. Alan Chapman and he proposed an amendment to make it compulsory for local authorities to provide free education for deaf children from the age of 3 where the parents desired it. This amendment was passed in the Standing Committee on Scottish Bills and was incorporated in the new Act when it became law.<sup>2</sup> In addition (by

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1. v. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol. 33 (1935) p.70.

2.       ibid       Vol. 34 (1936) p. 187 et seq.

Clause 6 sec.1) the provisions of the Acts of 1890, 1918, and 1936, were extended to 'deaf' children - as opposed to 'deaf-mute' children. This meant that children who suffered from some degree of deafness or had become deafened after acquiring speech and language came within the scope of the special education provided by these Acts. In Part 3 of the Act 'deaf' was defined as "too deaf to be taught in a class of hearing children in a public school".

Furthermore, (by Clause 6 sec. 2) the education to be provided was no longer to be designated 'elementary', but was to be in "reading, writing, and arithmetic" and for "industrial training".

Thus had the exertions of the teachers borne fruit. At long last the anomaly of the parents having to pay for the education of deaf children was removed, whilst a great impetus was given to the movement for the earliest possible admission of deaf children to schools. In order to publicise the value of the latter the Scottish Association for the Deaf, in conjunction with the Scoto-Irish Branch of the N.C.T.D. drew up a circular entitled "What can be done for a deaf child in Scotland under the new Act". Copies of this were sent to local education authorities medical authorities, hospitals, and schools. The needs of young deaf children were further emphasised by the Draft Day Schools Code of 1939 which pointed out that "every year lost in placing them in the environment of the special school which has been carefully planned to develop their mind and their senses, will act as a permanent handicap to their progress. Every effort, therefore, should be made to persuade parents to send their children to special schools, whether day or residential, as soon as possible after they attain the age of 3 years."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Memorandum Explanatory of Draft Day Schools (Scotland) Code 1939 para 62.



The unsatisfactory situation caused by different local inspectors visiting schools for the deaf without any real knowledge of the problems involved, has already been mentioned, and though their visits did serve some useful purpose, it had long been evident that the appointment of a single inspector to visit all the schools for the deaf in Scotland would be much more advantageous, not only to the schools, but to the Department itself, in so far as the work could then be judged against some norm or standard.

At least as early as 1913, this had been urged by Addison,<sup>1</sup> who had also suggested a co-ordination of policy by the creation of a national body which would meet annually to consider aspects of deaf education from a national rather than a parochial point of view. These suggestions met with no official encouragement, and in spite of the repetition of the demand for a single inspector who would have the sole surveillance of all the deaf schools in Scotland, it was not until the 1st. Sept. 1938 that the Department consented to such an appointment. Mr. A.G. Rodger, one of the staff inspectors in the Western District and a former lecturer at Moray House Training College, was given this difficult assignment, and it is to his great credit that he immediately set about a careful study of the problems involved and proved himself readily acceptable in schools for the deaf which, in spite of their repeated demands for such an appointment, traditionally tended to view lay interference with considerable distrust. Unfortunately, the outbreak of war in 1939 put an end to his duties and exertions on behalf of the deaf schools owing to the calls of administrative duties in the Department, and he has not, as yet, been replaced.

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1. At the 8th Biennial Conference of the National Assn. of Teachers of the Deaf (1913). v. Report p.11.

With regard to the financial position of schools, they came under the Grant Regulations of the Scottish Education Department. Thus, the residential institutions, from 1925, were given two grants<sup>1</sup> - an Aid Grant of 3/- per head upon average attendance of the pupils,<sup>2</sup> and a further grant not exceeding the deficit of funds required to meet the approved expenditure as determined by the Department after crediting (a) contributions for education and maintenance received from Education Authorities, (b) fees, or contributions in relief of fees, and (c) revenues from endowments or other local sources.<sup>3</sup> This grant, save in exceptional circumstances, was not to exceed the amount of revenue acquired under section (c).

The day schools received appropriate grants under the Grant Regulations of 1928.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Changes in Organisation of the Schools.

In the period between the two world wars there were three important changes in the organisation of deaf schools, changes which affected the three oldest institutions in the country. The first two were similar in effect, and concerned the transfer of the Glasgow and Aberdeen Institutions from the control of their own committees to that of the local education authorities. The third was the amalgamation of the Edinburgh Institution at Henderson Row with Donaldson's Hospital.

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1. Miscellaneous Grants Regulations S.R. & O. (1925) No. 882 S.62.

2. *ibid* sec.8.

3. *ibid* sec.3.

4. S.R. & O. (1928) No. 544 S.35.



The rising costs of maintenance at the Glasgow Institution during the war years had led the Directors seriously to consider whether it might not be better for the children attending the institution if the latter gave up its independence. Public control meant public financial assistance, and the latter seemed almost essential if the work was to be continued in an efficient manner. The Education Act of 1918 gave an added impetus to the movement towards a new administrative basis; for the extension of the period of compulsory attendance at one end of the scale, with the permissive extension at the other, both pointed in the direction of an increase of expenditure which could only be viewed by the officials of the institution with dismay. The position becoming increasingly difficult, the Directors of the Institution entered into negotiations with the Glasgow Education Authority, in 1919, with a view to the ultimate transfer of the Institution into the hands of the authority.

Meanwhile, on the 14th January 1919, the centenary of the founding of the Institution was celebrated in the usual manner with an informal meeting of directors, staff, &c., and a re-union of old pupils. The impending retiral of Addison in the summer seemed to indicate the closing of an era and a suitable time at which to make the transfer of authority. However the headmaster was allowed to remain in service for an additional year until the negotiations could be completed. The latter included an Act of Parliament to legalise the changes about to be made in the constitution of the Society. As from 31st May, 1920, Glasgow Education Authority took over the school and other buildings at Langside with all fittings and fixtures but without price or other consideration. The Society had agreed to pay all debts

contracted up to that date but thereafter the Education Authority assumed liability for all obligations and contracts. On the 31st. December of the same year Addison retired after 30 years service, and a new era was begun in the history of the Glasgow School for the Deaf.

It was, however, intended that the Glasgow Society for the Education of the Deaf should remain in existence, but that the emphasis should now be placed on welfare rather than education. Accordingly, under the Glasgow Deaf and Dumb Institution Order Confirmation Act (11 & 12 Geo V c. LIII) 1921, it was authorised to retain and administer the invested funds and retain the rights of all moveable, real, and heritable properties. The new objects of the Society were defined in subsection 10 of the Act, viz:<sup>1</sup>

"To provide, or co-operate in the provision of, elementary, technical and higher education for deaf and dumb persons, to instruct such persons in suitable handicrafts, trades, and professions, with a view to making such persons self-supporting, wholly or in part, to provide, or co-operate in the provision of, such appliances or equipment for enabling such persons to follow their trade or employment, and to find employment for pupils of the Society, or of any other authority, association, or body engaged in the education and instruction of the deaf and dumb." ( para iii )

"To improve existing and to investigate new methods of teaching the deaf and dumb, and to grant assistance to persons not deaf and dumb desirous of being teachers of the deaf and dumb".(para iv)

"To improve existing and investigate new avenues of profitable work for the deaf and dumb, and generally to further any practical or theoretical method of alleviating the misfortunes of the deaf and dumb". (para v).

"To grant bursaries, scholarships, prizes, awards, medals, certificates, &c in connection with the encouragement of the education of the deaf and dumb." (para vii)

Such comprehensive aims could clearly have great value not only in Glasgow but throughout Scotland, and although, naturally enough,

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1. Annual Report of Glasgow Institution for 1921.



most of the benefits went to the Glasgow school, they were by no means entirely confined to it. This was a new departure in the realm of deaf education in Scotland, for while the Adult Missions had in the past attended to the needs and welfare of the adult deaf, no other body had concerned itself with the needs of both the young and adult deaf together. Furthermore, the assistance available for research and training of teachers revealed that new fields were opening up, the value of which was realised, and for the advancement of which, the Society was willing to lend its valuable financial support.

Nor were these aims a mere empty formula. After a year spent in working out the details of transference, the Society got speedily to work to give some of its proposals a concrete shape. An "After-care Educational Supervisor" was appointed whose task it was to visit the pupils who left school at regular intervals. Then the matter of the education of children over 16 years was considered. Initially, selected boys and girls were given advanced technical and domestic training at the institution. Starting with 17 pupils in 1924 it was found that this was too heavy a drain on reserves (it cost over £1000)<sup>1</sup> and the number was subsequently reduced to 4 or 5 per annum. On the same matter of vocational training the Society provided, in 1932, the necessary capital (£220) for the opening of a "Shoecraft Repair Salon" in Glasgow, under the auspices of the Scottish Association for the Deaf. Unfortunately this venture was not self supporting and almost every year a grant had to be made to cover losses. Nevertheless it served a useful purpose in training young deaf boys in modern methods of boot and shoe repair. A Horticultural and Market Gardening Scheme, started by the Kilmarnock Mission in

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1. Report of Glasgow Society for 1924.

1934, was also supported by the Society, as were the Fairyhill Nursery Association Ltd., and the horticultural training centre at Mauldslie Castle from 1937 onwards.

With regard to the present pupils of the school, as well as maintaining the older children at school for vocational training, the Society donated considerable sums for the purchase of equipment for the out-of-school use of the children. Scout Troops, Guide Companies, Rovers, and Rangers, all benefitted from the funds of the Society, as did class and school libraries. A radiogramophone was installed at its expense in the school in 1936, and later a cinematograph was presented.

In connection with the aims stated in para iv, the Society gave grants to teachers from Glasgow who were accepted for training by Manchester University. Between 1928 and 1938, 5 such teachers were assisted.

Altogether the Society has served an extremely useful function particularly in the West of Scotland, and many excellent schemes in connection with the education and welfare of the deaf owe their existence to the assistance of the Society.

At about the same time that the Directors of the Glasgow Institution were considering the surrender of their independence to the local Education Authority, similar ideas were in the minds of the Directors of the Aberdeen Institution. We have already seen<sup>1</sup> that such an amalgamation had for long been at the back of the minds of both parties, but that the question of the method of instruction was the main stumbling block. The same financial difficulties that drove the

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1. v. ante p.133.



Glasgow Directors into the arms of the local authority, produced similar effects in Aberdeen. Rising costs, largely occasioned by the war, made it more and more difficult to make ends meet. The situation, too, was extremely similar to that in Glasgow. Centenary celebrations were approaching (apparently there was a feeling that after having completed a hundred years of useful work, the field might not unreasonably left to others), whilst the headmaster was due to retire at the end of 1919 after 38 years service.

Accordingly, the Directors began to enter into negotiations with the new education authority, feeling, perhaps that this new body<sup>1</sup> might be more sympathetic than had been the old Burgh School Board. It was suggested that the Day School was less oral than it had been in the past, and, as this had been the main difficulty previously, the Directors felt that they could act with a clear conscience since they were not condemning their pupils to a system, concerning the efficacy of which they themselves had considerable doubts. Arrangements were completed at the end of 1920, Pender remaining in office until that date, and on 31st January 1921, the 10 remaining pupils of the Institution along with their teacher were transferred to the Authority's School at Westburn Road.<sup>2</sup>

Under the terms of the agreement, the Education Authority undertook to educate children not only from Aberdeen but from any of the Northern Counties of Scotland. Such children could not, of course, be provided for out of the Aberdeen rates and so the Directors of the Institution agreed to pay over the free revenue of their funds annually

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1. Education Authorities were brought into existence to replace the School Boards as a result of the Local Government Act of 1919.

2. Minutes of Aberdeen Education Authority 25th Feb. 1921 p.389.



for the maintenance of such children. A pension of £100 per annum was set aside for the ex-headmaster, and, after management expenses had been deducted, this revenue amounted to about £600 per annum. In addition a sum of £1500 was paid to the Authority for the purpose of increasing the accommodation at the school in order that boarding accommodation might be provided. If the Authority at any time ceased to accommodate as boarders these children sent from the Northern Counties, the Institution would feel it its duty to recommence its work and would receive back the £1500 from the Authority.<sup>1</sup>

The Society, however, still remained in existence and, although it does not appear to have interfered in any way either in matters connected with the education or welfare of the deaf, it presumably still has some funds at its disposal, ready to take over its former task should the Education Committee appear to fail in its duty. As this is a national rather than a local matter it seems unlikely that any dereliction of duty will occur, and it might therefore be that the funds, if any, could well be applied in a manner similar to that undertaken by the Glasgow Society.

In Edinburgh, at the close of the period, changes even more far-reaching took place. As early as 1882 the Endowment Commissioners had suggested that Donaldson's Hospital (amongst others) should cease to apply its endowments for the benefit of hearing children, although they saw no objection in the continuance of the application of its charitable measures on behalf of deaf children. However, the

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1. For much of the information contained in this paragraph I am indebted to the late Mr. W.H. Ross W.S. of Aberdeen. It is contained in a typescript copy of the minutes of the evidence given by him before the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Commission on 8th June, 1933.



recommendations then made were rejected by the Scottish Education Department, and the question remained dormant for nearly half a century. In 1928 another Commission on Educational Endowments was appointed and they viewed the matter from a fresh angle. They considered that the maintenance of two separate schools for the deaf in Edinburgh was both educationally and economically unsound, and consequently they proposed the amalgamation of Donaldson's Hospital and the Edinburgh Royal Institution for the Education of the Deaf. Hearing children would cease to be admitted to the former and the combined endowments of the two institutions would be amalgamated for the sole purpose of providing an efficient education for deaf children. In their original scheme, which was completed in 1930, the Commissioners set forth their aims, viz. " (a) the amalgamation of the endowments under a new governing body representative of wider interests than either of the existing bodies; (b) the establishment in Edinburgh of a residential school for the deaf which would provide facilities comparable to those provided in the best of the schools for the deaf in England; (c) the appropriation of the whole of amalgamated endowment to this purpose."<sup>1</sup> In connection with (c) they pointed out that in view of the changed conditions over the preceding century "there was no need to apply any part of the endowment" for the benefit of hearing children.

This scheme, however, met with strenuous opposition both from the Governors of Donaldson's Hospital and from the Corporation of Edinburgh. The former based their opposition on the plea that the new scheme would destroy the Donaldson system of associating deaf children with those of normal hearing. However, the Commissioners

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1. "The Donaldson Trust Scheme, 1936" p.2.



felt that more benefit was being credited to this association than did, in point of fact, accrue from it, and they decided that there was more to be gained from the improved classification of the deaf themselves than by the problematic advantage of the association of deaf and hearing children.

After a year or two spent in negotiation, the Scottish Education Department remitted the scheme to the Commissioners with several amendments which they desired should be incorporated. These affected the composition of the governing body, the method of attaining object (b) as set forth above), and the financial provision to be made for the hearing children at present in the Hospital as well as those who should in future benefit from the endowments. The Commissioners agreed to make the necessary alterations in the scheme which was then presented as the "Donaldson Trust Scheme, 1936" to the Scottish Education Department to be legally enacted as an Order in Council. When the Scheme was published, the Edinburgh teachers registered a protest about the terms under which they would be required to serve, but upon an assurance being given by the Educational Institute of Scotland that they would hold a "watching brief" in their interests, the opposition was withdrawn.<sup>1</sup>

The first three parts of the Scheme dealt with the Governing Body, its composition, and powers. Briefly, it was to consist of representative governors from the Town Council of Edinburgh, and various other bodies such as the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the University of Edinburgh, the Educational Institute of Scotland &c; life governors appointed by the Governors of Donaldson's Hospital and the Directors

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1. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol.35 pp. 86 & 232.



of the Edinburgh Royal Institution; and governors appointed by subscribers to the Trust in accordance with Sect. 5 of the Scheme.<sup>1</sup> The funds of the two institutions were to be transferred to the new governors of what was to be known as the Donaldson Trust, who were to apply them to "provide, equip, furnish, maintain, and administer, a residential school for the deaf which shall be known as Donaldson's School for the Deaf."<sup>2</sup> In addition, £4000 annually was to be set aside as a fund for children with normal hearing, whilst £500 was to be transferred annually to a Reserve Fund, the purpose of which was to meet extraordinary expenditure or capital depreciation.

Part 5 of the Scheme contained regulations concerning the organization of the new school. As soon as possible the school was to be organized into Departments, consisting of a nursery school department, a department in which general education is provided, and a vocational training department. Additional departments could be added as the governors thought fit. (para 25). A new school building was to be erected in the North-West corner of the grounds of Donaldson's Hospital, and the Hospital buildings were to be reconstructed in order to make them suitable as a residence. (para 28). Playing fields were to be provided for the children along with pavilions and other necessary offices, and for this purpose, new ground could be acquired. (para 29). The children on the roll of both schools should be admitted to the new school which would thereafter be open to all deaf children, giving preference, when the need arose, (a) to poor children, and (b) to children of Scottish domicile. (para 31)

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1. "The Donaldson Trust Scheme" Pt.1 paras 1 & 2.

2.       ibid       Pt. 5 para 24.

Children could remain at school until the age of 19, being in the vocational training department from the age of 16, and although some of the latter might be day pupils, all children below the age of 16 were required to be residential. (paras 31 & 32). Up to the age of 16 education should be general although this might include practical but not vocational work. Between 16 and 19 the education provided should take the form of vocational training although in special cases where it was felt that a continuation of general education would be of greater value to the pupils concerned, the governors were empowered to provide this or maintain the pupils at other suitable schools or institutions. (para 33) At the same time the governors were permitted to charge the local authorities, who sent the children, fees in respect of their education and maintenance. (para 34).

Finally, the governors were authorised to co-operate with the University of Edinburgh or the National Committee for the Training of Teachers in making the school available as a practising school should either of these bodies wish to arrange for the training of teachers; whilst expenditure might be incurred on behalf of members of the staff for purposes of training or visiting other schools. (paras 35 & 37)

The first meeting of the new governing body was held on July 8th, 1938, and the "appointed day" for the amalgamation was fixed as August 1st, 1938. In accordance with the provisions of the scheme the first task was the reorganisation of the school into departments, and a beginning was made with this at the beginning of the autumn term when the senior pupils from Henderson Row were transferred to the Hospital at West Coates, and the junior pupils of the latter were sent



to Henderson Row. The Nursery Department remained as before in Saxe-Coburg Place. No immediate steps were taken to bring the department of vocational training into being.

At the same time, steps were taken to implement Para 28 of the Scheme and a Building Committee was appointed to supervise the provision of a new school building. Messrs. Cairns and Ford, architects of Edinburgh, drew up the necessary plans; which were eventually approved by the Scottish Education Department. The new school building was to consist of 22 classrooms (2 equipped for hearing aid work) with other rooms for Arts and Crafts, Cookery, Laundry-Work, Sewing, and Carpenter's and Shoe Shops. Between this new building and the hospital a gymnasium and swimming bath would be erected. The old building was to be adapted as a residence under the House system with about 35 pupils in 8 or 9 dormitories or bedrooms to each House. In charge of each of the latter would be resident staff who might or might not be teachers. In addition, there would be in the main building, isolation and sick rooms, a museum, a library, a cinema, and a children's reading room. The plans envisaged the temporary evacuation of the Hospital by the end of 1939 in order to let the work proceed. Work on the new school was to begin early in 1940 and occupation of the completed buildings was scheduled for September 1941.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately the Hospital was evacuated for an entirely different reason on 4th September 1939, and a complete halt in developments was called. But for the war there is no doubt that the major proposals of the scheme, at least, would have been carried out, but apart from the reorganisation of the classes between the two schools, no further action was taken either during the war or in the first few years thereafter.

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1. Report by Dr. James Kerr to the Building Committee at Donaldson's Hospital Nov. 16th, 1938.



So far, attention during this period has been directed to the major changes in three centres. However, there were some minor, though none the less important, developments going on both in the schools mentioned above as well as in the others.

In Glasgow, perhaps the most important change was caused by the retiral of Addison in 1920. It has already been pointed out that he was due to retire in 1919 but remained for another year until the completion of the transfer of the institution to the control of the Education Authority. A first rate teacher, making use of the combined method, Addison was also an excellent organiser, and during his period of office the Glasgow School roll passed the 200 mark for the only time in its history. To some extent he was fortunate in being a contemporary of Kerr Love, but he had sufficient insight to realise the value of the ideas and work of the latter, and there is no doubt that he had almost as much to give Kerr Love, particularly in his understanding of the deaf child, as he received from him. Certainly their combined efforts provided the greatest contribution to the education of the deaf in Scotland, at least, between 1890 and 1910. Apart from his work in association with Kerr Love, Addison was extremely anxious to ensure that the education of his children went further than the mere teaching of language and beyond the four walls of the classroom. Himself a keen sportsman, he saw the value of physical training and games and ensured that adequate opportunities for both were provided in his school. To occupy usefully and educationally the leisure hours of the children he arranged for the formation of a Scout Troop and Guide and Boys Brigade Companies, whilst the Winter evenings were enlivened by lantern lectures &c. He was the outstanding figure of his day in deaf educational circles in Scotland, and not much below that level in the whole of the



United Kingdom; whilst we would rank him with Anderson and Haycock as one of the three great headmasters of the Glasgow School.

On his retiral, his mantle fell upon his first assistant, Dr. Welsh. The latter, academically gifted and with a wide knowledge of the work, had too short a stay in his new position of responsibility to impress his personality on the work of the school. In the autumn of 1922 he was unfortunately quite seriously injured in a motor-car accident, and, although he returned to duty in the January of the following year, his health never completely recovered and twelve months later he was obliged to retire. The vacancy thus caused was filled by G. Sibley Haycock, requested to come back to Glasgow in January 1924. Haycock had already made a name for himself, not only in the Glasgow school but throughout West of Scotland Educational circles in the early years of the century, before he had been called, in 1907, to take over the Directorship of the Fitzroy Square Training College. In this position of authority he had done some excellent work, revising the curriculum completely in 1911 in an attempt to provide a sounder basis for the training of young students as well as to raise the standard of the work done there.<sup>1</sup> On the opening of the Department of Deaf Education at Manchester University, Fitzroy Square College was closed down and Haycock employed himself in private teaching for the next few years. It is <sup>than</sup> more/likely, however, that he was considerably disappointed at not being asked to take over the work at Manchester. Certainly many older members of the profession would have liked to have seen him there, but whatever Haycock's feelings in the matter were, he wisely refrained from making them public.

In January 1924 he once more returned to Glasgow where he at once threw himself into the work of bringing the school there into

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1. Haycock: "Training of Teachers of the Deaf" (no date ? 1911)



line with the gospel he had been preaching in the South. About the same time, Glasgow Education Authority agreed in principle to a scheme of reorganisation which would eventually lead to the establishment of two schools for the deaf in Glasgow - a large oral school, and a smaller 'silent' one. Whether the school for partially deaf children was to be incorporated in this plan is not known, but at any rate the scheme never got further than this basic plan.

The number of pupils attending the school, which had fallen to 140 in 1921, dropped to 55 in 1930. The reason for this tremendous decrease was that whereas the cost of maintenance had been partially met by the funds of the Society, after 1919 the Education Authority charged the whole cost to the local education authorities concerned. Many authorities in the West, notably Ayrshire, therefore ceased to send their children to Langside and sent them instead to Henderson Row, Edinburgh where the charge for board was very much lower.

Most of Haycock's work at Glasgow can be classed under the heading of "Curriculum and Method" and as such it will be dealt with in the next section. Suffice to mention here that in 1927 he was awarded the "Braidwood Medal" for his essay on "How best to promote the quality of naturalness in speech for the deaf". This he later expanded into a book on the teaching of Speech, which has become a standard work on this subject.

In July 1935 he retired from Langside and D.L.McIntosh, who had been on the staff of the school from 1908 and who, incidentally had been a pupil at Donaldson's Hospital for a time and therefore had had close contact with the deaf from the days of his childhood, was appointed to take his place. During the period under consideration no further changes which fall to be mentioned in this section took place at Langside.



An event which happened in Glasgow in 1918, however, requires mention here. In that year a Glasgow Deaf Children's Society was formed under five trustees with the object of studying the educational needs of young deaf children. In addition it planned to issue printed material giving information to parents regarding home training before school age, and also to give financial assistance to the teachers in Glasgow schools who wished to visit other schools, and vice versa. Apart from subscriptions, the main revenue was derived from the rental of two houses in Renfrew Street donated to the Society by Mr. W.A. Bergius.

Turning now to Aberdeen, the events which succeeded the amalgamation of the Institution and the Day School in that town must be briefly reviewed. The transference of 10 pupils and a teacher from the Institution in 1921 raised the roll of the Aberdeen School for the Deaf to 34 pupils with 4 teachers. Four months later the first seven boys came into residence, as preparation to provide such accommodation had been going on at Westburn Road since the amalgamation. Whilst the number of pupils attending the school remained approximately the same, the accommodation for boarders was increased until in 1938 there were 14 of those. Local Authorities who sent such children were charged £22 10/- per annum for board and education.

In 1932 the headmistress Miss Barron, retired and, as the Endowments Commission were still taking evidence and considering the question of the future of the school, no further head was appointed. It was thought at this time that the school might be closed down and the pupils transferred to another school, e.g. Donaldson's Hospital. However no such transfer was, in fact, arranged. The question of

appointing a head to the school was left in abeyance for several years, during which time the teachers took charge for a period in rotation. This was a most unsatisfactory method of administering a school and certainly one under which no clear policy for development could be considered. The day to day work went on, of course, as usual, but the effect of this interregnum was very detrimental to the development of the school. Not until October 1938 was it deemed worth while to appoint a new head, and in that month Miss Jolly, the present holder of the post, took charge.

At the outbreak of war in 1914 the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution had been considering the possibility of transferring the school into the suburbs or the country. This idea had, of course, to be indefinitely postponed with the outbreak of hostilities, but by 1916 it was clear that the whole scheme was impracticable, as the cost would be something in the region of £30,000. As the accommodation in the old building was still unsatisfactory, it was decided to build a new school block in the grounds which would be connected to the main building by a covered passageway. This building, which consisted of 12 classrooms and an assembly hall, was completed in the summer of 1917, at a cost of £3,500, and was officially opened in October of that year by Sir Alfred Ewing, the Principal of the University.

In the summer of 1918, Illingworth, the headmaster, died suddenly whilst on holiday. He had been headmaster of the school for 33 years and was one of the outstanding figures to hold that post, and it was largely through his efforts that the Education Act of 1890 was passed in Scotland two years before the corresponding Act in England. He also had much to do with the drawing-up of the scheme for



the training and certification of teachers which was adopted by the Scottish Education Department in 1911. It will thus be seen that Illingworth's activities extended far beyond the immediate sphere of the school, and it was fitting that they should be recognised by the outside world, as they were, after the International Conference on the Deaf, held in Edinburgh in 1908, of which he was chairman, when the French Government conferred on him the title of "Officier d' Académie," and the Educational Institute of Scotland made him a Fellow.

Although in his early years a keen oralist, and even a propounder of the "aural" system before Kerr Love popularised the term, Illingworth later modified his views to allow the oral system, as practised in his school, to become more and more 'combined'.

After Illingworth's death, the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution arranged for J.S. Barker from Gorleston-on-Sea to come North at the beginning of 1919 to take over the headmastership of the school. At this same time an important new development was in the process of being worked out. For some time now, it had been recognised that the earlier the beginning, the more likely was a deaf child to make a success of the education received. This theory had been translated into practice with regard to partially deaf children in Glasgow in 1911, and about the same time the Manchester School for the Deaf had begun a nursery school for young deaf children. The Directors of the Edinburgh Institution determined that they too would provide this opportunity for the early education of deaf children, and, at the end of 1918 purchased a house at 7 Saxe Coburg Place - a stone's throw from the main building. Until this building was suitably altered, a beginning was made with nursery school work



in the main building, the Directors declaring that "the possibility of acquiring speech depends very much upon receiving instruction early in childhood."<sup>1</sup> The new building was opened on 4th December 1920 by the Secretary of State for Scotland, and fourteen young children were transferred there from the main school. Miss Davidson was appointed to take charge and two of the staff of the main school who had volunteered for the work were transferred as her assistants. In 1922 the nursery school was named Strathern House in memory of Robert Strathern W.S., the ex-Chairman of the Directors, and who had taken a special interest in this new project.

The number of young children increased from 19 in 1923 to 26 in 1926, and 33 in 1928. At the same time, the average age of admission was steadily lowered so that the nursery school, which was in point of fact a nursery/infant school, was coming more and more to do its rightful task, which was the education of children under five. The policy of making as widely known as possible the benefits of an early education to a deaf child certainly was bearing fruit, for, whereas the average age of admission to the Institution had been 7 years 1 month in 1919, it was reduced to 5 years and 5 months by 1922. After the age of 8, the pupils were transferred to the main school. This new department had also the effect of increasing the number of pupils on the school roll, which rose from 79 in 1918 to 121 in 1928.<sup>2</sup> However, increasing costs, occasioned mainly by the rise in the prices of commodities during and after the war, resulted in an increased charge for maintenance which was raised, for the first time in sixteen years (and only the second time in 67 years) to £30 per annum, in 1921.

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1919 p.5.

2. Another reason for this rise was given on p.190.



During the 'twenties the headmaster, Barker, instituted what might be termed an era of experiment into the Institution at Henderson Row. Although most of his own work in this direction was confined to the curriculum and methods of teaching, yet other noteworthy experiments deserve mention here. Perhaps the most important of these were the investigations carried out by Professor James Drever, who occupied the Chair of Psychology at Edinburgh University, into the measurement of the intelligence of deaf children. Pintner and Paterson, working at this problem in America a decade before, had concluded that deaf children were of inferior intelligence to hearing children. Drever constructed a battery of performance tests which, with the co-operation of Barker, were tried out at Henderson Row. The former then standardised the tests by giving them in many schools in Scotland and England, and the results of his work convinced him that where the deaf children were not at a disadvantage in respect of the language content of the tests, they succeeded as well, on the average, as hearing children.<sup>1</sup> Drever therefore concluded that deaf children gave no evidence of being of inferior intelligence to hearing children, a conclusion which has been confirmed by later workers in the same field.<sup>2</sup> This work, which was begun in Edinburgh in 1927, was given a small grant by the National College of Teachers of the Deaf in view of its importance as the first investigation in Britain made into this matter. The following year some further experimental work was carried out at Henderson Row by Dr. Fairbairn, also of Edinburgh University. This time a vocabulary test was given to the pupils over 8 years of age. After about 750 deaf and hearing children had been tested in different centres, the investigator came to the conclusion that the deaf children showed an overall retardation of about five years.

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1. Drever & Collins: "Performance Tests of Intelligence" (1928)

2. Modern evidence on this point indicates a much wider spread of intelligence amongst deaf than amongst hearing school children, and, although there seems to be a tendency for the average to be about 1½ or less below that of hearing children, the divergence is such as to



Thus, in Edinburgh, was beginning much experimental work into the psychology of the deaf child, work which later had as its focus the Department at Manchester University, but for the early beginnings of which must credit is due, not only to the investigators, but to the authorities at Henderson Row for realising the value of such work in leading to a fuller understanding of the handicap of deafness.

In the summer of 1930 Barker retired, and Sutcliffe was appointed interim headmaster. This appointment was later confirmed as a permanency. One of the outstanding developments at this period was the establishment of an open-air school for two weeks each year in the summer. In 1928 an annual camp for the older pupils had been instituted during the first two weeks of the summer vacation. In 1934 the Scottish Education Department recognised this as an open-air school and the camp was thereafter held during term time. Each year about 50 or 60 senior pupils, along with six or eight members of the staff, spent two weeks under canvas, and in 1938 the whole senior school, i.e. those over 8, were present. After the amalgamation with Donaldson's in 1938 these camps had to be abandoned since the senior pupils had been transferred to West Coates.

Apart from those previously mentioned, there are not many important changes to be recorded at Donaldson's Hospital. In 1931 there was a change of headmaster when G. Wilson succeeded William Young upon the latter's retirement. He had been on the staff of the Hospital for 45 years and headmaster for 22 of them. Well known throughout Edinburgh as a conscientious and skillful teacher, he had been appointed extra-mural master of method by the Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers at Edinburgh in 1911.



By this time the hearing pupils at the Hospital were only retained because of the supposed benefit of their presence to the deaf. All were agreed that, educationally, this value was non-existent, but the Governors were still of the opinion that it had a great social value for both classes, although more particularly for the deaf. Unfortunately these were only matters of belief and opinion, and no concrete evidence had ever been brought forward to prove that such, in fact, was the case. It is a great pity that some experimental work on these lines had not been done before it was too late and the hearing pupils dispersed.

In the Institution at Dundee, equally few changes had taken place. Hansell remained as headmaster until October 1939 and his staff varied in direct proportion to the number of pupils on the roll. Thus, in 1918, when there were 34 pupils he had four assistants; in 1927, when the numbers were down to 16, he had only two; and in 1938, when there were 20 children, there were three assistants. At the end of the war, when the roll was high, Hansell pressed his directors for more accommodation, and even suggested that the old building should be abandoned, and the school moved out into the country. However, the fluctuations in the roll naturally forced the directors to take a very cautious line over the question of increasing the accommodation, and nothing was done in the matter since, apart from the years 1930-2, there were never more than 25 pupils in the school. Furthermore, after 1933, a deficit began to appear in the annual accounts, a deficit which grew with each succeeding year thereafter, and which precluded all ideas of expansion or capital expenditure. In 1915; the permissive age of admission to the Institution was lowered from 7 to 5, but in spite of this, the actual average age of entry remained at over 7, until 1939.

The following table gives a clear indication of this:

Year	Average age of entry
1900	7.5 years
1910	7.7 years
1920	8.3 years
1930	7.2 years
1939	6.6 years

At the Roman Catholic Institution at Tollcross, Glasgow, the most important changes to be chronicled were administrative. In 1919 the Catholic schools in Scotland were taken over by the local Education Authorities, but Tollcross was not included in this change. The Institution still received a direct government grant until 1925 when Lanarkshire took over the costs of education and maintenance, although the building still remained the property of the Sisters of Charity. Lanarkshire, of course, recovered the costs from the authorities which sent the children. Glasgow, however, had quite a number of children whom it sent to the Institution as day pupils, and so in 1927, the Glasgow Education Authority decided to educate these children themselves. In a new wing of the Institution they opened a separate school of their own and supplied their own teachers, furniture, books, &c. There were a few residential pupils from the Authority's area and they shared dormitories and dining-rooms with the other pupils, and all were under the charge of the Sister Superior. Thus a somewhat ridiculous situation emerged with two schools running side by side in the same building, the teachers of one receiving a different salary scale from those in the other, and being responsible to a different authority. This Gilbertian situation remained in force until 1947.



The position of the day schools between 1914 and 1939 must now be considered. The situation at Aberdeen has already been discussed, and, after the initial throes of the amalgamation, the school there settled down to a fairly placid existence. It is true that it ceased to be entirely a day school, for after 1921 there were always some boarders at the school, and, although it might be considered as a residential school with some day pupils, the preponderance of the latter make it advisable to consider it still as a day school having in addition some boarders.

In Dundee there were some changes in the location of the school during the period. On November 22nd, 1915, the school moved from its temporary premises in Dudhope U.F. Church Hall to the old cripple school in Harcourt Street. Here there were only three classrooms and, as the roll increased, they became inadequate. By 1925 there were 51 children and 5 classes, but not until 1927 were the necessary alterations completed and five classrooms obtained. However, on 3rd. February, 1930, the school was moved to new premises in Dudhope Terrace where it still remains. The school admitted partially deaf as well as deaf pupils and the percentage of the former rose steadily until in 1929 there were 18 partially and 28 totally deaf pupils on the roll. Furthermore, as well as mixing the two types of deafness, the Education Committee seemed to adopt a policy of using the school as a "dumping ground" for any children with speech disorders irrespective of their hearing loss, if any. Thus, in 1929, four of the pupils were mentally defective children with speech defects, whilst in 1933 out of six classes, one was entirely devoted to children with speech defects. (Of the remainder, two were partially, and three totally, deaf classes). After about 1936, however,



this practice was wisely discontinued and the school confined entirely to its original purpose of educating children suffering from deafness without any other defect. One other feature worthy of mention was the continuation classes for former pupils taken by the headmistress. This was a very useful contribution to the needs of deaf adolescents for further education, and it lasted from 1923 until about 1930.

The class at Lady Jane Hamilton's School, Ayr, spent the early days of the war as the centre of a conflict of another kind. The Ayrshire Adult Mission to the Deaf had been pressing for some years for the introduction of the combined method into the class. Their demands were reinforced by a Deputation from the British Deaf and Dumb Association who waited on the School Board on 30th August 1915 and put forward their views on the desirability of teaching fingerspelling in addition to the oral system. The School Board did not commit themselves to any action, but before a decision could be made, A.J. Story, the Editor of "The Teacher of the Deaf", wrote to suggest that the Board hear other views before coming to a decision.<sup>1</sup> This was agreed to, and Dr. Kerr Love and Miss Douglas came from Glasgow to address a public meeting on the merits of 'pure oralism'. As a result of this visit no change in the method of instruction was made, but the Board agreed that children who could not be successfully taught by the oral method should be reported by the Medical Officer to them, and they would consider making provision for their education elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> However, before this controversy was thus concluded the class was moved to Newton Academy, Ayr, part of which had been given over, in the autumn

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1. Minutes of Ayr Burgh School Board 20th Sept. 1915.

2.       ibid       6th Dec. 1915.



of 1915, to a school for defective children. The deaf here, of whom there were now only eight, were mixed with mentally and physically defective children - an unsatisfactory arrangement. The numbers dwindled until, about 1922, the two remaining children were transferred to Henderson Row, Edinburgh. The class was then discontinued, and since that date both the Burgh and County of Ayr have made arrangements for the education of their deaf and partially deaf children in schools outwith the county.

At the four other day schools in the West of Scotland there is little of moment to record. The school at Hamilton which had 18 pupils at the outbreak of war had doubled that number, with a corresponding increase in staff, by 1920. In 1922 the school was moved to Woodburn - a large house in which the deaf pupils occupied the first floor, the ground floor being occupied by other children.

The roll of the Greenock school tended to remain fairly steady at about 20, although towards the close of the period the number declined to 16. The local medical officer here also seems to have adopted the policy of sending children to the school whose only difficulty was a speech defect, and in 1926 it was reported that several of these were in attendance.<sup>1</sup> In 1930 the name of the school was changed from Glebe Oral to Nelson Street School.

Lack of suitable accommodation and absences of staff were two factors which militated against the smooth working of the smaller schools, and Greenock provided examples of both. 1939 was a particularly unfortunate year, for the headmistress died in April leaving the school without a head. In the following month Miss Taylor of Paisley was appointed to the vacancy and obtained an assistant.

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1. Log Book of Greenock School for the Deaf 1st Nov 1926

Unhappily the former had also to obtain leave of absence owing to illness, and two unqualified assistants were left to cope with the 16 children, all of whom were taught in the same room.<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar situation had previously arisen at Paisley in 1917. The headmistress was off for two months leaving an assistant in charge, and when she returned the assistant resigned. It was a few months before another assistant could be obtained, so that for the best part of six months one teacher was coping with the sixteen children.<sup>2</sup> In 1920, when there was again no assistant teacher, a senior pupil, who had passed her qualifying examination, was appointed to help the headmistress at a salary of £52 a year.<sup>3</sup>

In 1924 the Scottish Education Department sent a report to the Education Authority commenting on the unsatisfactory state of the school at Paisley. Prompt action was taken and new premises at Renfrew Road erected which were opened on March 30th, 1926.

The Govan Burgh School Board ceased to exist in 1919, and its powers and duties were taken over by the Glasgow Education Committee under the Local Government Act of that year. However, the deaf classes remained at Copeland Road School until 1924 when they were transferred to Ibrox Public School. The roll at Copeland Road had increased considerably, and at the time when it was taken over by the Glasgow Education Authority was about 36 with four teachers. After the transfer to Ibrox, the numbers declined somewhat, and, by 1939, there were only 23 pupils with three of a staff.

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1.    ibid       5th May, 9th June, 27th Oct. 1939.
  2.    Log Book of Paisley School for the Deaf 1917.
  3.    ibid    Jan 14th. 1920.



In 1914 the Burgh of Clydebank began to take an interest in the education of its deaf children locally, and accordingly on the 6th January of that year a class was begun with five such children in Radnor Park Special School. Two more children were added a few months later, but by the end of the war both blind and deaf children were being educated together in one class, with an unqualified teacher in charge. When Dunbartonshire Education Authority took over responsibility they threw the class open to children from the county and moved it, in August 1921, to Milton Special School near Bowling. They still retained, however, the principle of educating both blind and deaf children together. By 1923 the number of deaf children had reached ten and it was decided to form a separate class for them in the Upper School at Milton, where it remained until the outbreak of war in 1939. With this class the usual procedure was followed whereby the head of the special school was in complete control of all types of children in the school, and the teacher of the deaf was responsible to him for the work of that class. The value of this venture seems very dubious. The numbers were never such as to justify the existence of the class, whilst the mixing of blind and deaf pupils in the same class revealed a complete lack of understanding of the totally different problems involved.

It will be clear from the foregoing that whatever advantages day schools might have had from the point of view of children living at home, and, of course, such considerations are very important from the parents' point of view, and not necessarily negligible from the teachers', they might be considerably outweighed by the many disadvantages that appeared in the actual running of the school.

Except in large cities where the numbers involved made some sort of classification possible, there were always too few children to make much attempt at this. When children of widely varying ages, not to mention intelligence and hearing loss, were put into the same class, then the task of the teacher became well-nigh impossible. Other disadvantages, such as absence of the teacher, and inadequacy of accommodation, have already been mentioned. To add to the list, lack of suitable facilities for manual instruction, physical training, and out-of-school activities, may be cited. Clearly then, small day schools for the deaf have many disadvantages. They have the inestimable advantage of providing the deaf child with a normal home life, and so it is the task of teachers of the deaf, as well as educational administrators, to weigh the one against the other.

### 3. Curriculum and Methods.

Curriculum in residential schools during this period will be mainly illustrated by the work of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Institutions mainly for the reason that the work done in these two places has been more fully recorded than that done elsewhere. Although differences did exist between other schools and these two institutions, the picture given will not be misleading, for general trends were similar throughout the whole country. Some things were, of course, done in one particular school which were not done in others, but this will not affect the general principles.

On the whole, during this period, the schools were coming closer to the belief that the oral method was the most advantageous to the deaf child. It was recognised that certain children did not



succeed under oralism, and for them other methods were provided, but for the bulk of the children, work in the classrooms was conducted orally. This matter of method will be more fully discussed later, but it has relevance here since the curriculum would obviously be affected by this greater adherence to the oral method. Oralism meant, amongst other things, trying to help the deaf child to take his proper place in a hearing world, and, as a result of this, it was necessary to include in the curriculum much that the hearing child learned in an ordinary school. The deaf child's need for language was recognised, as indeed it had always been, to be of paramount importance in his education, and the curriculum was so organised as to bring this, in the opinion of the headmaster concerned, to the highest possible pitch of perfection.

In the Nursery School attached to the Edinburgh Institution the work was mainly of a preparatory nature. A beginning in speech and language was made, but much of the work could be said to be of a "character training" nature. Thus, in 1925, it was reported<sup>1</sup> that the work was "confined to cultivation of habits of attention, cleanliness, order, and application, with individual speech sounds and speech-reading simple sentences. Kindergarten exercises are given in the afternoon with dancing and simple games. Later, all the sounds are acquired, and in speech and speech-reading there is some progress, though the spontaneous use of language is meagre." The same annual report gives quite a full account of the work of the other departments of the school, and it seems valuable to quote it fairly

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1. In the Annual Report of the Edinburgh Royal Institution for that year.



extensively.

"In language in the Junior classes the aim is to develop the spontaneous use of the simple sentence, material for which is provided by news, letters, actions, and simple stories. In the Intermediate classes the aim is to develop the use of compound and complex sentences using 'and,' 'because,' and 'when.' In the Senior classes the aim is to provide the pupils with a working basis of language which will enable them to read and write a good letter, read with intelligence a standard boy's or girl's book, and respond to instructions given by an employer. In speech and speech-reading progress is determined by advance in language. In the Junior classes the children produce nursery plays; in the Intermediate stage they develop phrasing and rhythm, and do dictation exercises from stories taken in class. They also respond to spoken commands. In the Senior group speech is fairly facile and the aim is that all work should proceed as in a normal class, supplemented by writing new and difficult words on the blackboard.

In Scripture the Juniors learn the Lord's Prayer and Graces, with a simple story of Jesus. The Intermediates add the Life of Christ with attention to episodes in the Old and New Testaments; the Seniors study in detail lives of Old Testament characters.

In Arithmetic, which was reorganised in 1923, the Junior class start multiplication; Intermediate classes do the four simple and compound rules, and the reduction of money, weight, and time. The Senior class adds linear measure, easy fractions and bills of parcels. It has also done simple equations in Algebra."

In addition, the Intermediate classes were taught Geography, History, and Nature Study.

Leaving aside manual and physical training for the moment, it will be seen that this was a fairly complete syllabus. The methods were not entirely formal, although there appears to have been a certain amount of formal work done particularly with regard to the learning of sentence patterns, question forms, and the like. About the same time, Haycock, who had returned to Glasgow in the previous year, was initiating his schemes of work into the school there. He believed that the "language of question and answer"<sup>1</sup> was one of the most important things with which the deaf child had to be equipped, and much of his scheme of language development was devoted to that end.

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1. Haycock's "Address to the Scoto-Irish Branch," October 1926. Quoted in "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol 24 (1926) p.159.



This he developed in great detail and each teacher was provided with a copy of the scheme which embraced speech teaching, scripture, and arithmetic, as well as the development of the English language. There were also long lists of classified vocabulary to be learned. Certainly the standard of speech, and, to a lesser extent, that of language, were developed to an extraordinarily high degree by Haycock, but the children had to work extremely hard in the process. A feature of his method were the "Morning Talks" at Langside where the children, assembled together in the hall, had to ask and answer questions on current topics.

The value of good reading ability on the part of the deaf child had long been recognised, for on it depended how far his education could go; but there was an ever-present feeling of dissatisfaction with regard to the standard being reached in this by the average deaf child. In order to try to improve this standard an experiment in "Silent Reading" was started at Henderson Row in 1929. A school vocabulary of 2000 words was constructed, and a series of sentences composed employing those words. The idea appeared to be that if the child was able to comprehend these words before he left school he would have a useful basic reading vocabulary to carry with him into adult life. Shortly after the beginning of this experiment the headmaster obtained Gates' vocabulary list of 1500 words, from America, and so the school vocabulary list was amended to consist of Gates' list plus a few common English words not included in Gates. In addition, the Gates' Silent Reading Exercises were obtained and a start made with their use. However, before Barker could complete his experiment with the latter, he retired, and little more was done with

them. This was rather unfortunate, for these particular reading exercises (adapted where necessary to English usage) would seem to be at least one suitable way in which to teach silent reading to deaf children.

On the retiral of Barker at Henderson Row, and Haycock at Glasgow, their successors followed to a considerable degree the schemes already in use. This was perhaps more particularly the case in Glasgow, in Edinburgh adaptations were made according to the predilections of the headmaster, but the same principle was, in the main, followed.

In Dundee and Aberdeen, as well as at Donaldson's Hospital, during the earlier half of the period, the combined method was still in vogue throughout many of the classes, and here, the language schemes were rather more formal. Nevertheless they followed much the same lines as those outlined above, embraced the same subjects, and, generally speaking, gave fairly successful results, although these were at times of a somewhat limited kind. At Donaldson's, Young, who was a confirmed believer in the value of the combined system, raised the standard of written and fingerspelled language to a very marked degree.

An interesting experiment was tried out in 1922 at Henderson Row when two senior pupils were sent for a fortnight to the Manchester School for the Deaf. The object was to test out the freer speech intercourse which was believed to be developing in the school, and it seems to have been a useful experiment, although its value must have been largely confined to the two pupils concerned.

Some attempt was also made in Edinburgh to cater for the brighter children who could profit from more advanced instruction than



was generally given.. In 1920 a special class of eight senior pupils was formed to prepare for the Lower Forms, College of Preceptors, Examination. Three of these pupils passed in the following year, and the class was continued until 1926.

The schools were, in fact, left very much to their own devices over this matter of curriculum. The Day School Code of 1923, in a footnote referring to special schools and classes, merely stated that "their requirements will only apply to such an extent as His Majesty's Inspectors may deem advisable." However, on the visit of an Inspector the headmaster was required to submit for his approval a scheme of work for each division of the school and a time-table showing the classification adopted and the time allotted to each main head of the instruction. In addition, there was required to be kept in each class a record of the work done in each subject, and any examination which an Inspector might conduct was to be based on this record and should have no reference to any other standard of examination.

On the side of manual occupations, almost all the schools reached a high standard of proficiency. The types of work done were fairly common to all. Drawing and painting, of course, formed quite a considerable part of such work, although more seems to have been given to the boys than to the girls. For the younger children what were known as "kindergarten occupations" were still very popular and consisted of paper cutting and tearing, bead and cane work, and some raffia work. For the older boys, cardboard modelling and woodwork were the two favourite occupations, although leatherwork was an additional craft at Tollcross. Clay-modelling, which had been popular for a considerable time at Henderson Row, was discontinued in the 'twenties. Strip woodwork, as an introduction to woodwork proper,

was also quite a common occupation for the younger boys. The senior boys at each of the institutions did either tailoring or cobbling (and sometimes both) rather as a form of pre-vocational training. In most cases this was done out of regular school hours. Gardening was also taught to the older boys and, at least in the case of Henderson Row from 1932 onwards, to the senior girls also.

For girls, the traditional knitting and needlework were continued. Dressmaking and cookery were also taught in all the institutions and after 1920 this was often developed into a complete course of domestic science. At Henderson Row, the girls were instructed in such a course, which included cookery, laundry work, housewifery, and needlework, by a visiting specialist teacher from the School of Domestic Science at Atholl Crescent. The senior girls at Donaldson's, on the other hand, went to Atholl Crescent on Saturday mornings for a similar course.

In the matter of physical training, the new Code of Physical Training issued in 1922 was generally adopted. This laid special emphasis on the value of games, and most schools were fairly quick to widen the scope of these. Football and cricket, hockey and netball, were, of course, the most popular, but in Glasgow, for example, badminton was introduced with great success. Swimming and life-saving were taught extensively, and in the institutions where there were no swimming baths, the pupils were taken to the public baths for this purpose at least once a week.

When the new Syllabus of Physical Training was introduced in 1933 it was a little time before the deaf schools adopted it. In fact, at Henderson Row, it was not until the stimulus of the Inspector's Report in 1936, which indicated that the existing teaching was out-of-



date, was received, that the new syllabus was used. Both here, and in Glasgow, a visiting specialist attended the school periodically to assist the teachers in this work. Country Dancing was also a healthy and popular form of physical exercise and excellent results were obtained from the introduction of this in several of the schools.

The day schools, on the whole, worked to less formal and detailed schemes than the institutions. In the classes and smaller schools this was almost essential, for the small numbers with their immense variations in ability, hearing loss, age of onset of deafness, and age of entry, made work there almost a matter of individual attention. However, the subjects of instruction and the courses followed, did not differ very greatly from those in the institutions. It would not be fair to those day schools to say that the standard achieved was lower, - in some cases it was, but in others it was higher. In general, as one might expect, it was in the smaller schools and classes that the poorest results were obtained, although this was not universally the case, and in any case no blame for this could be laid upon the teachers, for they <sup>were</sup> working under conditions in which the best results were almost impossible of attainment. Yet, for example, at Hamilton in 1919, when the roll consisted of about 30 pupils, four of these successfully passed the qualifying examination, - no mean feat in any deaf school. As far as the usual school subjects were concerned, all of the day schools taught English, Arithmetic, Scripture, Reading, and Geography. History was taught in most, and Nature Study became more and more popular. Some physical training was given everywhere, but again the standard of this depended largely on the number of pupils involved. A few of the schools were visited periodically by a specialist teacher of physical training.

Country Dancing was also introduced with great success into some of the day schools, notably Hamilton (1921), and Paisley (1932). In some, too, boys, and, to a lesser extent, girls went to the public baths for instruction in swimming.

As far as manual training was concerned, the schools were able to cater for the younger children, and, since most of the staffs were women, for the needlework of the older girls, Domestic Science, however, as well as woodwork and other occupations for the older boys, were beyond their capacities, and had to be catered for by outside arrangements. Being under the control of local authorities, this was not a difficult matter for these schools, and the children concerned were generally sent to the nearest school in which the requisite instruction was given. Thus in Aberdeen, Ayr (1914), Hamilton (1919), and Paisley (1919), the older boys were sent out for woodwork. In Hamilton, between 1926 and 1934, the woodwork was discontinued and tailoring took its place, but in the latter year the woodwork was recommenced. In Aberdeen, from 1933, the senior boys also attended classes in boot-repairing four times per week. A similar procedure was followed for the girls with regard to Cookery in almost every school, whilst in Hamilton (1916), and Paisley (1928), the girls also went out for lessons in laundry work and housewifery. In Hamilton, in 1920, the interesting experiment was tried of giving the senior boys lessons in cookery also.

On the whole, therefore, on the side of manual training, the children were catered for reasonably well. Instruction in the subjects normally given to hearing children was provided, with some others added, but the question of the amount of benefit which the children were receiving from such instruction was a difficult one to answer.



The teachers who gave this external instruction were not trained to appreciate the needs and difficulties of deaf children, so that in many cases the deaf children did not get the greatest possible benefit from these lessons, whilst the inclusion of two or three deaf children in a hearing class for this instruction was of problematic value.

Before leaving this matter of the curriculum, it would seem appropriate to make a brief reference to vocational training. Reference has already been made<sup>1</sup> to the Glasgow Society's interest in this matter, and the manner in which they financed the children who stayed on at the Institution after the age of 16 for advanced technical training, and also the various schemes for vocational training operating under the auspices of the Scottish Association for the Deaf and individual Adult Missions. The whole matter of this training was one which gave considerable anxiety to all who were interested in the welfare of the deaf, for the widespread unemployment throughout the country in the 'twenties had considerable repercussions on the placement of school leavers. In 1923, the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution, finding that it was extremely difficult for their ex-pupils to obtain suitable employment, began to interest themselves in the matter and appointed an "After-care Committee"<sup>2</sup> to keep in touch with the pupils when they left school. The following year they expressed the opinion that the opening of a Scottish Trade Training Centre to cater for pupils from the age of 16 would be very desirable. The same matter was discussed by the Scoto-Irish Branch of the N.C.T.D. in 1929 and a proposal that special facilities should be provided were

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1. v. supra p. 179.

2. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1923.

remitted to the Executive of the College in the following year.<sup>1</sup> In 1929, the Scottish Education Department published figures in connection with the employment of those children who had left schools for the deaf over a period of four years. These showed that of the 297 children concerned, 65 % obtained "more or less regular employment", 17 % were unemployed although employable, and the remainder had either been unaccounted for or suffered, in addition, from mental or physical disabilities.<sup>2</sup> This was certainly a very serious state of affairs, and in discussions as to how it should be remedied a proposal for a Farm Colony was put before the Scoto-Irish Branch. In connection with this it was suggested that grants might be solicited from the Pilgrim Trust and the Carnegie Endowment. The scheme, however was turned down, and in its place a suggestion was made that five boys might be maintained annually at the West of Scotland Agricultural College at Auchencruive at a cost of £610.

At this time, however, The Scottish Association for the Deaf began its "Shoecraft Repair Salon" in Glasgow, and this was followed in the next few years by the Horticultural and Market Gardening Schemes, and the Fairyhill and Mauldslie Castle enterprises. Such schemes, worthy though they were, only touched the fringe of the problem, and did nothing to cater for the girls (whose case, as it happened, was less acute). The Donaldson Trust Scheme of 1936, made provision for vocational training, but this part had not been implemented by 1939. Up to that year, therefore, it must be agreed that efforts to provide

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1. Minutes of Scoto-Irish Branch of N.C.T.D. Vol.2 pp.169 & 181.

2. Report of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland (1928-9)  
p. 29.



vocational training were sporadic and lacked a well-considered plan. They were centred in the South-West of the country (although not specifically confined to pupils from that area), and therefore left a very large area of the country unprovided for. Schools probably felt that this training was outwith their scope, but so long as such training can be considered as a preparation for life, it must rightly fall under the head of education, and therefore be the concern of those who undertake to educate the deaf.

The methods of instruction employed during this period must now be considered. In the institutions which were under the control of voluntary committees, it is fairly true to state that the opinion of the headmaster was the policy of the school, although Aberdeen was, to some extent, an exception to this generalisation. No instruction as to method was ever laid down by the various Education Acts, nor did the Codes, or even the inspectors, attempt to suggest which method should be adopted. So long as the children appeared to be receiving an efficient education, the law was satisfied. That being the case, it is understandable that the committees of schools, who were amateurs in the matter, were content to leave the matter of instruction employed in the hands of the professional.

As we have already seen, Illingworth, at Edinburgh, after his first flush of enthusiasm for the oral method, slowly changed his ideas until, by the end of the first world war, he was a firm believer in the combined method. He felt that in a large residential institution some other means of communication was essential for the children, and therefore fingerspelling was used to a considerable degree. When Barker succeeded him in 1919 his efforts were directed towards the re-establishment of oralism as the prime method of instruction. He immediately

forbade fingerspelling and signs in the school, and all the classes, save one in which were assembled the pupils who had failed to acquire intelligible speech, were conducted on purely oral lines. Physical Training and Life-Saving instruction, which had previously been given silently, were now also given verbally. Unfortunately, results did not show the quick success he desired, for obviously a period of years was necessary before one system could be eradicated and another thoroughly instilled, and in 1923 he was complaining that there was "not a sufficiently large number of successful speech pupils".<sup>1</sup> Three years later, still dissatisfied with the results, he inaugurated a campaign to stop "signing". The members of the two top classes were asked to report each afternoon if they had used signs during the lunch hour, and Barker claimed that after a month's trial, 60 % of the pupils concerned had an 80 % success.<sup>2</sup> Such a plan, however well-meaning, was inevitably doomed to a short-lived success for it failed to strike at the root of the matter, which was to make the children "orally-minded" from their earliest years - in other words, to lead them to think in words, to speak spontaneously, and to expect speech from others.

After Barker's retiral in 1930, his successor attempted to continue his policy. A further campaign against signing was begun in 1931, and this time a "House System", with monitors and marks, was brought into operation as a remedy. No doubt it had some value, but signing out of school was not halted thereby, and it remained a problem here, as elsewhere, for a future generation of headmasters to solve. Apart from two fingerspelling classes (out of a total of

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1923.

2. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol. 24 p. 158.



12 or 13 in the school) school work was conducted entirely orally by means of speech and lipreading, backed up, where necessary, by writing.

During Young's tenure of office at Donaldson's Hospital, the system in operation was the combined one. Young was a firm believer in the efficacy of this for the education of deaf children, and he refused to change over to oralism. By the combined system, he meant lipreading, speech, fingerspelling, and writing, and he eschewed signs altogether. His successor, on his appointment in 1931, began to introduce oralism in a gradual way. He believed that most, although possibly not all, deaf children benefitted by this method of instruction, and so he began to create classes which were conducted entirely orally. By adding a few more pupils to such classes each year the number of children being educated orally rose to about two thirds of the total number on the roll by 1939.

In Glasgow, Haycock was an extremely enthusiastic oralist. He believed, and he arranged for his beliefs to be put into practice in the school, that the elements of speech had to be drilled thoroughly into the children. By regular drill and repetition he maintained that good articulation, intelligibility, naturalness, and correct accentuation, could be obtained. Spontaneity was best encouraged in the early years, and his aim was to obtain that spontaneity of speech throughout the whole of the child's school life. Of course, a great deal of the success of such a programme depended on the technical skill of the teacher, and Haycock did his best to ensure that this was not wanting. There is no doubt that the standard of speech he obtained from his pupils was a high one, although whether the spontaneity he desired was achieved at such a high level is more

questionable. It is probable that on his ability as a teacher of speech that much of Haycock's fame will rest, and he must be credited with having attained a great deal in this direction, for which the Glasgow School owes him a debt of gratitude. McIntosh continued this work of Haycock's, although with perhaps less of the zeal and drive of his predecessor. The oral attitude was continued and the results achieved were not inconsiderable.

At St. Vincent's, Tollcross, there was a steady development towards complete oralism throughout the school, during this period. Although, during the war, the school had been separated into oral and manual classes, the number of the latter declined until, by 1939, the whole school was being conducted on the oral system. In Dundee, on the otherhand, Hansell still had a predilection towards the combined method. This he had introduced into the school immediately after his appointment as headmaster, and, though speech and lipreading were taught, and some excellent results in both obtained, yet he considered that fingerspelling had a useful part to play in the instruction of deaf children, and provided a satisfactory means of communication when the other broke down.

At Aberdeen, it is interesting to note, the Directors "called the tune." Pender, the headmaster, was certainly a believer in the combined system, but the Directors were so wholeheartedly behind him that the amalgamation with the Day School was delayed for many years because of their confirmed beliefs in this matter. They did not believe that the pure oral system was in the best interests of the deaf child and felt that fingerspelling was essential, both for his proper education, and for his future career. The Day School had begun entirely as an oral school, and had survived an assault on that position in 1913.



However, during the war, fresh efforts were made to undermine their confidence in oralism. Skinner, the House Governor of Donaldson's, sent a letter to the School Board in June 1914 recommending the introduction of fingerspelling.<sup>1</sup> This was somewhat gratuitous, because in his position at the Hospital he had little to do with the deaf children and certainly was not directly concerned with their education. However, the Board were impressed, and, in the following January, heard a deputation from the Adult Mission, who recommended the introduction of the combined method, "as no system should confine itself to one method."<sup>2</sup> However, the matter was solved by a compromise, suggested by the headmistress, that after a two years' trial in oralism, the backward children, if need be, might be taught by means of fingerspelling in a separate class. In addition, all the pupils were to be taught fingerspelling in their last year at school. This arrangement not only satisfied the School Board, but it allowed the Directors of the Institution to enter into negotiations for an amalgamation with a clear conscience, knowing that their principles were to be upheld in the future instruction of the children. Having once introduced fingerspelling as an alternative method, the Aberdeen School continued to employ it, and so operated mainly on a combined system for the remainder of the period.

With regard to the other day schools, they were fairly evenly divided in their adherence to each of the rival methods. The school at Hamilton never wavered in its adherence to oralism, and the Ibrox classes were also conducted entirely orally. The Dunbartonshire class also appears to have been taught on oral lines, and the Ayr

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1. Minutes of Aberdeen Burgh School Board 26th June, 1914. p.157.

2.       ibid       29th Jan., 1915 p.14.

class ended its days under the same system. At Dundee, however, it would seem that the combined system, which had been introduced during the first decade of the century, remained in operation almost until the end of the period. During the 'thirties, it is true, the school became more oral in its outlook, but it did not then entirely commit itself to that system.

Greenock and Paisley, which both came under the jurisdiction of the Renfrewshire Education Authority after 1919, had been, in the main, oral schools. Greenock had taught a few pupils by finger-spelling since about 1906, and in Paisley out of a total roll of 22 pupils in 1927, there were three pupils who were taught by finger-spelling. However, in 1934, both schools were instructed by the Education Committee to introduce the "manual method." The Committee went into the question of methods of teaching and decided that in both schools "the semi-deaf and semi-mute should be instructed orally and in addition should have a short intensive course in signs and finger-spelling," and that "the totally deaf who are not likely to profit by oral instruction should be taught in accordance with the manual system."<sup>1</sup>

This matter of method, oralism or fingerspelling, was one which was constantly being pressed on the schools, quite often by the Adult Missions, who felt very strongly that the latter method was essential for the future welfare of the born deaf child. In October 1933 the Scoto-Irish Branch of the N.C.T.D. took up the matter in an endeavour to find out the prevailing views of the teaching staffs. The general consensus of opinion then seemed to be that schools should not be hidebound by any particular method. Better classification,

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1. Log Book of Paisley School for the Deaf 1st June, 1934.



it was claimed, was the answer to the problem, and when children were properly classified, then the method of instruction would become obvious. The children who were "oral failures" would have to be educated in another way, but until all children were properly classified such children were bound to be out of place in an ordinary oral class in the same way that the semi-deaf and semi-mute were out of place in a fingerspelling class.

The matter came to a head once more in 1937 when the Scottish Association for the Deaf put forward a resolution that every deaf child be taught to spell on his fingers before leaving school. The views of the teachers on this resolution were sought, collated, and forwarded to the originators of the motion. As a result of this the original resolution was amended by the prefatory phrase "it is advisable that..." At the same time the Association withdrew the reflections which had been cast on the oral system in the preamble to their original resolution. The committee of the Scoto-Irish Branch then arranged a meeting with the Scottish Association for the Deaf, where it was pointed out that such instruction could be given rapidly and successfully, where required, in evening classes after the pupils had left school.<sup>1</sup> There, for the moment, the matter rested, but it was clear that it was not finally settled and that oralism, at least in the eyes of those engaged in the welfare of the adult deaf, was still very much on trial.

#### 4. Education of Partially Deaf Children.

The beginnings of the school for partially deaf children in Glasgow have been noted in a previous chapter. In 1915 Glasgow Education Committee decided to collect the handicapped children together

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1. Minutes of Scoto-Irish Branch of N.C.T.D. Vol 3 Oct.1937, & April 1938.

and accordingly they bought Kennyhill School, into the ground floor of which were put 150 physically defective children, and above them, the 54 partially deaf pupils transferred from Dovehill and Kay Street. This accommodation, however, was soon wanted for the expanding physically defective school, and so, on November 1st.1918, the partially deaf school was transferred to one of the houses in Renfrew Street which Mr. Bergius rented to the Education Authority.<sup>1</sup> Here the school steadily expanded, from 58 in 1918 to 74 in 1926, during the course of which the other of the two houses was acquired by the school, which from 1918 had become known as the Renfrew Street Special School.

On the transfer to Renfrew Street, Miss J.F.S. Douglas became headmistress, and Miss Margaret Martin, who had begun the nursery work seven years previously, was put in charge of the nursery department which at this time numbered 12 children of three years of age and upwards. In this department the average size of the class was six children. The type of programme usually followed in a kindergarten was used, as was also Montessori apparatus. As well as providing morning milk and lunch in school, folding beds for a rest period after lunch were also in use. During school hours parents were encouraged to visit the school, whilst the teachers also visited them regularly in their homes. This early example of modern nursery education was due to the inspiration and ability of Miss Martin. She had a great gift for managing young children, and she produced some astonishingly fine results in her work with them. In 1921 Miss Martin wrote a little booklet entitled "What the Mother of a Deaf Child can do", which was full of useful guidance to parents and was on lines which would be approved by most authorities even yet, after

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v. supra p.188.



thirty more years of experience of nursery work. This booklet was published under the joint auspices of the National College of Teachers of the Deaf and the Glasgow Deaf Children's Society. Miss Martin died suddenly from pneumonia in May 1932, to the very great loss of the young children in Renfrew Street.

Much good work was also done with the older children at Renfrew Street. From 1916 onwards, the pupils in the top class sat the qualifying examination, in which four or five, and sometimes more, generally passed. Of course this was taken when the children were three or four years above the normal age for this examination, but when the retardation caused by partial loss of hearing is taken into account, much credit is due to the staff for such excellent results. Partially deaf children, at any rate, were now following as near a normal curriculum as possible, instead of being kept down to the rate of work of deaf children or even being educated silently. In addition, a certain number of the pupils, after their speech had improved and lipreading had been learned, were able to return to, normal schools. With the upper classes in Renfrew Street, a post-primary syllabus was followed which included mathematics and French, as well, of course, as domestic science for the girls.

In 1936 a Multitone Group Hearing Aid was purchased for the school which enabled twelve pupils simultaneously to hear amplified sounds. After its use for some time, the headmistress reported that considerable benefits was accruing to the pupils' speech - accent,

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phrasing, rhythm, and inflection, all showed improvement.<sup>1</sup> At the end of 1937 Miss Douglas retired from the headship of the school and she was succeeded by Miss J.D. Dawson, who had previously been on the staff at Henderson Row, Edinburgh.

It might be well at this point to indicate in what way the education of partially deaf children<sup>2</sup> would differ from that of those who were totally deaf. It is much more than a matter of degree of hearing loss. The fact that a child is born with some useful residual hearing means that both speech and language can be acquired naturally, that is, by imitation. Neither the speech nor the language may be absolutely correct, but the faults are not difficult of eradication in comparison with the difficulty of the congenitally totally deaf child in learning speech and language. This means that, although the partially deaf child may have incorrect speech and language, he nevertheless comes to school with some speech and language, and on this foundation his education can be built up with a reasonable approach to the normal curriculum. When we consider that the congenitally totally deaf child comes to school without any speech or language, it will be clear that the two problems are not identical. That being the case, the separate of partially deaf children into a school apart from totally deaf children was a great forward step. It meant that no longer was the deaf child made to compete with one whose handicap was much less severe, nor was the partially deaf child kept working far below his capacity.

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1. Minutes of Scoto-Irish Branch of N.C.T.D. Vol.III 1936.

2. The phrase "partially deaf" is here used to connote all children who have naturally acquired speech and language. Some of them may have lost their hearing entirely after this was acquired (e.g. through meningitis) but for educational purposes they may be classified as partially deaf.



Such children were generally known as semi-deaf, or semi-mute depending on the nature of their hearing loss and the age of onset, but in 1938 a Committee set up to Inquire into Problems relating to Children with Defective Hearing, suggested a more complete form of classification. All children suffering from defects of hearing were divided into three Grades. Grade 1 consisted of children who, although suffering from a slight hearing defect, did not require any special provision made for their education. Grade 11A children had generally a more severe hearing loss, but did not require to attend a special school. Satisfactory progress in ordinary classes could be maintained provided they were given special facilities such as a favourable position in class, tuition in lipreading, and the provision of an individual hearing aid. Grade 11B children were those whose hearing loss was such that they could not maintain their place in an ordinary school even with the assistance outlined above. Such children required full-time special educational treatment in a school for partially deaf children. Grade 111 children were those who were very severely deaf and whose speech and language were so little developed that they required special education in a school for the deaf. This class also included the congenitally totally deaf children. This classification, although now appearing to require amendment, has remained as the accepted terminology throughout Great Britain until the present, and it will be the one employed hereafter.

From the very beginning of the public institutions for the deaf, a certain number of partially deaf children had been admitted. As we have already seen, it was due to the efforts of Dr Kerr Love that the need for a better classification of the children lumped together in deaf schools, was clearly established, and it was due to his zeal that a special school was opened in Glasgow for Grade 11B



children. In spite of his demands for better classification, however, there was still a percentage of such llB pupils in every school for the deaf mainly because there was no other place for them to go. The result was that deaf schools had to make some provision for these children. Generally speaking, until the end of the first world war, little special provision was made for them, although it was recognised that they, at any rate, should be taught on the oral system. However, as more and more of such children found their way into deaf schools, after being rejected by ordinary schools, some special classes began to be formed within the deaf schools for these partially deaf children.

Although it is more than likely that there were earlier classes for these children, the first recorded example that can be found is at Paisley in 1918, when out of a total of three classes in the school, one was reserved for the "semi-deaf".<sup>1</sup> When this class ceased to exist is not clear, but by 1927, it was reported that totally and partially deaf pupils were mixed in the same class, so it seems likely that it did not last long - probably a large proportion of partially deaf pupils over a period of a few years, made the experiment possible.

Although Dundee Day School reported a total of 18 partially deaf children on the roll in 1929, it was not explicitly stated that they, or some of them, were being educated in a separate class. It is probable, however, that such was the case, for in 1933 out of a total of six classes, two contained partially deaf children only, and it seems that at least one class of partially deaf children existed in that school until 1939.

Of course there was no need for Glasgow Education Committee to have special classes at Langside for partially deaf children,

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1. Log Book of Paisley School for the Deaf. Sept 20th. 1918.



since these were being sent to Renfrew Street, and any partially deaf children who found their way to the Institution had been sent there by other local authorities who could not place them in their own schools. Such children were not many in number and were generally placed with deaf pupils somewhat older than themselves.

In 1932 Edinburgh Education Committee began to consider the needs of their partially deaf children, and, after consultation with the Scottish Education Department and the Directors of the Edinburgh Royal Institution, it was agreed to start special classes for them at Henderson Row.<sup>1</sup> The classes, however, were not to be confined to Edinburgh children, and local Medical Officers of Health were invited to send any children whom they thought would benefit from the instruction. To assist in the assessment of the degree of hearing loss, the school purchased a Western Electric Audiometer. Not very many partially deaf children took advantage of this scheme, and only one class was formed consisting of Edinburgh children between the ages of 9 and 13.

Towards the end of 1935 this partially deaf class was discontinued, as Edinburgh Education Committee decided to make special provision themselves for such children. However, a Multitone Group Hearing Aid was procured at Henderson Row and children who could benefit from amplified speech were given regular lessons by means of the aid. Such children were mixed in classes with totally deaf children and so the normal practice was for two classes to combine for this work - those children who could benefit from the aid meeting together for some practice with it, whilst the others were occupied with other

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1. Annual Report of Edinburgh Institution for 1932.



work during the same period. In 1937 another hearing aid apparatus was obtained for use in the Nursery School.

When Edinburgh Education Committee decided to look after its own partially deaf children, one of the staff of Henderson Row (Mr. L. Heath) was appointed to do some research into the problem. His first task was to find out the children in the ordinary schools who were suffering from partial deafness and who required some help in the form of lipreading instruction. Towards the end of 1936 both a gramophone and a pure-tone audiometer were obtained in order that the hearing loss of children suspected of deafness might be measured, first of all in a group test with the former, and then, for those children who gave evidence of a significant loss in the first test, by an individual test with the latter. This measurement of the hearing loss of children in ordinary schools continued right up until the outbreak of war. After initial interruption it was continued again and is still in operation, at two or three different age levels, at the present. In addition to measuring the hearing loss, it was, of course, necessary to give some help to the children who required it, and this was done by gathering such children in a few suitable centres in different parts of the town where instruction in lipreading as given three times per week.

Thus, although the special needs of partially deaf children were beginning to be realised by 1939, not very much had up to that time been done to cater for these special needs. A start had certainly been made in this direction, but with the exception of Renfrew Street Special School in Glasgow, there were no other separate schools for them and, apart from the very occasional separate class in a deaf school, they were generally being educated side by side with deaf children to the detriment



of both, or were struggling along at the bottom of a class in an ordinary school.

One of the immediate needs was to discover how many of such children existed, and therefore required to be catered for. In order to assist in this direction simple tests of hearing were prepared by the Scoto-Irish Branch of the N.C.T.D. and these were distributed by the Educational Institute of Scotland to schools throughout the country. Up to 1927, 3,500 of them had been distributed.<sup>1</sup> But such rough tests were not enough and until some representative audiometric surveys had been made, the exact extent of the problem could not be accurately gauged. Unless and until a reliable report on the position could be given, local authorities would naturally be unwilling to incur an expenditure which, in the long run, might prove to have been unjustified.

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1. Minutes of Scoto-Irish Branch of N.C.T.D. Vol 2 p.116.

CHAPTER 8.THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

When a school has been opened, the problem of staff is one that inevitably arises. If the school is a private one then the matter is the purely personal concern of the entrepreneur: he may want assistants or he may want to train up a successor, but what he does or how he does it is his own affair. On the other hand, if the school is a public one then a duty is laid on the managers to see that there are a sufficient number of people capable of undertaking the work and that provision is made for some degree of continuity. The Academy of Braidwood was in the former category, and therefore the question of staffing was a matter of private arrangement. When he took on his "kinsman", John Braidwood, to assist him, presumably Thomas Braidwood trained him in the way he wanted him to teach, and there seems to have been a considerable amount of training given to the members of this family, first of all in Edinburgh and later at Hackney, so that at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the only persons who could be said to be qualified (by experience) to teach the deaf were members of the Braidwood family.

When the idea of a public institution for the education of the deaf was mooted in Edinburgh in 1769, it was suggested at the same time that Braidwood might train up some young men who would then be available to staff the proposed institution.<sup>1</sup> This proposal came to naught, as we have already seen, but it is interesting to note that when the first public institution was opened in London, it was a nephew

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1. v. supra p.26.



of Braidwood's who became the headmaster. The same procedure was followed in 1810 at the opening of the Edinburgh Institution. Although the name of Braidwood was no doubt one to be conjured with in Edinburgh, yet it was not only this fact which led the directors to appoint John Braidwood as the first headmaster; there was no other source of trained teachers save the Braidwood Academy at Hackney. The Braidwood's had thus established a monopoly in the training of teachers of the deaf in this country. At the same time members of the family were in charge of the earliest public schools for the deaf in the country (London and Birmingham Institutions) whilst Edinburgh came under the headmastership of one of their pupils after the defection of John Braidwood. The bond to which Kinniburgh was subjected after his training has already been noted, and this effectually prevented the dissemination of their methods by any means save a period of training at the fountain-head in Hackney. Whilst this had no doubt the effect of preventing charlatans from taking over posts of responsibility in the public institutions, if not in private schools, yet the repercussions of this monopoly were grave and probably undreamed of.

The first, and perhaps most significant, effect was its influence upon the early development of the teaching of the deaf in the United States of America. In April 1815, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet was sent from Connecticut to England to study the best methods of instructing the deaf. He applied to the Institution at London for help, but Watson would do nothing without the permission of the head of the family - Mrs. Braidwood, daughter of the original Thomas. He applied to Birmingham, but Thomas Braidwood there also referred him to his mother. He applied to Kinniburgh at Edinburgh, but the latter was still



under the terms of his bond. Mrs. Braidwood agreed to train Gallaudet if he would remain for three years at Hackney, but the latter was naturally unable to spend so much time in this country. She suggested as an alternative that he return to America and apply for help to her grandson John who had gone there, after his departure from Edinburgh, with the intention of opening a school.<sup>1</sup> This was not an acceptable alternative, so in despair Gallaudet crossed the channel and studied the sign-manual method at Paris under the Abbe Sicard. When he had completed a few months training he returned to America taking with him as assistant, Clerc, one of Sicard's most successful pupils. Thus, when the "American Asylum" - the first institution for the education of the deaf in America - opened at Hartford in 1816, it began on the French, or "silent" system, and it was another fifty years before oralism made a start in America. The short-sighted, monopolistic policy of the Braidwood family was undoubtedly the cause of this and it was a matter which reflected no credit on the family name.

The deaf of Ireland too suffered, though to a less degree, from this disinclination to let others into the "secret". In May 1816 it had been resolved to start a National Institution for the education of indigent deaf and dumb children. When going into the question of staff for such a school the newly-appointed directors applied to Edinburgh, Birmingham, and London for help, but the "result was such as precluded all hope of deriving aid from these quarters."<sup>2</sup> The most helpful person was Kinniburgh who promised to help as much as he could whenever he was released from his bond, which would be in two years time. Accordingly, the directors were forced to appoint two young men

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1. "Journal of Southern History" Vol 13 No.4 p.561.

2. 1st Annual Report of National Institution for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children of the Poor in Ireland (1817) p 18.



who had no knowledge of teaching the deaf as an interim measure. In August 1818 they again wrote to Kinniburgh who suggested that they should select some suitable person who could be sent to Edinburgh, and whom, for a "suitable compensation" he would instruct in all his methods. This "suitable compensation" was to be £150 paid in three yearly instalments of £50 each<sup>1</sup> - no doubt some attempt by Kinniburgh to recoup himself for his own payments to the Braidwood family. At any rate, the Directors of the Irish Institution agreed and Joseph Humphries was sent to Edinburgh where he spent three months in 1819, and visited the schools at Glasgow, Aberdeen. Perth, and Dundee (as well as those at Birmingham and London) before returning home to take over the supervision of the Institution at Dublin. Thus a real start in Ireland was delayed for three years as a result of the unhelpfulness of the Braidwoods.

A third result of the Braidwood monopoly was the introduction of the French or "silent" method into the Institution at Aberdeen. When it was decided in March 1818 to open a separate institution for the education of the deaf in that city, Kinniburgh was still under his bond to the Braidwood family. Accordingly, the Directors decided to send their nominee-Robert Taylor - to Paris to study under Sicard. The result was, of course, that this "French" method was the one adopted in the school, and one which remained a tradition there until the end of the century.

However, as time went on and more institutions were founded, the Braidwood monopoly was broken. The headmasters, many of whom had served under members of the Braidwood family, took the training of their staffs into their own hands. For this purpose they preferred

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1. 3rd Annual Report of National Institution.... in Ireland (1819)  
p.11.



young men and women (in their late 'teens) who had no preconceived notions and who could therefore be "moulded" into desirable patterns by the headmasters. When, in the 'twenties, most traces of oralism had vanished and methods were almost entirely silent, some of the brighter deaf pupils were taken on as assistants. In fact, something very like the monitorial system prevailed in many cases so that a deaf youth was not at any great disadvantage. There were, of course, many advantages in the headmaster training his own staff, but there were disadvantages too. Obviously the staffs were only aware of what was thought and done in their own schools and opportunities for exchange of ideas and opinions were almost negligible. Fresh ideas could only come in with a fresh headmaster, and, when we consider that in the Edinburgh and Glasgow Institutions up to 1870 there had only been five headmasters,<sup>1</sup> the fresh ideas will be seen to have been extremely limited. Furthermore, all headmasters did not even take the trouble to train their staffs properly. Scott Hutton, who joined the staff at Edinburgh in 1846, later stated that often the assistant "was put in charge of a class and left to work his way as best he might".<sup>2</sup>

Such being the training of assistant teachers of the deaf, their status and salaries were equally low. In the institutions residence was required of all the assistants, and, in return for "bed and board", they were, between them, responsible for all the out of school activities of the pupils from getting them up in the morning to putting them to bed at night. As there were only usually about three assistants and 60 or 70 children, the onerous nature of such duties can be well

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1. v. Appendix A.

2. Proceedings of Conference of Headmasters of Institutions (1882)  
p.65.



imagined. Such out-of-school drudgery<sup>1</sup> did not make for enthusiastic teachers and records indicate an almost constant coming and going of assistant members of staffs. There were, of course, notable exceptions to this, but the problem of potential teachers finding better salaries and conditions of service in industry and commerce is not one which is confined to the present generation.

The salaries of assistant teachers in the 1830's would appear to have been about £30 per annum, depending, of course, on length of service. In addition, the "emoluments" of residence were equivalent to about the same amount, so that for a youth in his or her late 'teens or early twenties it was not unprofitable to put up with the inconveniences of residence when the salary was to all intents and purposes doubled as the result. The headmasters fared considerably better and both at Edinburgh and Glasgow received £100 per annum from the funds of the institution as well as whatever profit they might be able to make out of their parlour boarders.

In 1828 the first normal school for the training of teachers in Scotland was opened in Glasgow mainly owing to the efforts of David Stow. By the middle of the century teachers for ordinary schools were being trained either in the various denominational church training colleges, or under the pupil teacher system.<sup>2</sup> In spite of this

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1. In Donaldson's Hospital (which was not exceptional) in 1851 the assistant master was allowed to have every Saturday afternoon off, and two evenings per week from 6.30 pm. These were the only times in the week which he could call his own. (Donaldson's Hosp. House Committee Reports)
  2. The pupil-teacher system was established by a Minute of 21st Dec. 1846. For an account of the training system for teachers in ordinary schools in operation in the 19th Century v. R. Rusk: "The Training of Teachers in Scotland."



excellent example the teachers of the deaf were still being trained on what might be termed the apprenticeship system. Although this was not unlike the pupil-teacher system it can hardly be classed under the same head since there was no prerequisite standard of attainment, nor did the Department contribute financially towards the training of these apprentice teachers. There was no standard course of instruction, no examination to test the success of the training, and, in fact, no alteration in the system which had begun in the second decade of the century and was still in existence (although to a less marked degree) at its close.

The first attempt to provide a regularised course of training for teachers of the deaf took place in 1872 when the "Association for the oral Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb" opened its normal school and training college at Fitzroy Square, London. In 1878, the rival association opened a similar college at Ealing.<sup>1</sup> It must be pointed out, however, that the real aim of these establishments was the spread of the oral system, so that their training was solely devised to produce teachers who would spread this system throughout the schools. The result of this was that few of the larger institutions accepted teachers from this source since they were not conversant with finger-spelling or the sign language, both of which were still used to a large extent as a method of communication. This was not, however, the only reason why the larger institutions did not benefit by the opening of these training colleges. Since the government as yet had given no official recognition to the education of the deaf they naturally made no contribution towards the training of teachers for this work. The result was that only such pupils entered the two

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1. v ante p.99.



colleges as could pay the fees and maintain themselves without salary for the period of training. As this financial problem was not one to which the schools could offer any solution, hampered as they were by so many other financial difficulties, the possibility of sending assistant teachers for training was a remote one, and certainly one which was almost completely beyond the powers of the Scottish Institutions.<sup>1</sup> The numbers of students passing through these two Colleges only amounted to about 12 per annum, and, as there were a considerable number of lucrative private posts, a large percentage of those took up private work, with the result that there were few left available for appointment to the schools. However, a certain number did find their way into the day school classes where the oral system was being given a more extended trial. Thus Miss Nickels, the first head of the Greenock day school was trained at Ealing, whilst Miss Crassweller, who held a corresponding position at Dundee, came from Fitzroy Square. One advantage which those trained teachers could command over their less well equipped colleagues was a higher salary. Thus, at a time when a teacher in a residential school was receiving about £50 plus board after 5 years service, Greenock and Dundee had to pay their headmistresses £100 on their first appointment.

Reference has already been made to the pupil-teacher system in operation at Greenock in the 'nineties. The number of lady candidates forthcoming was such that a proposal was put before the local School Board to convert the school into a "Scottish Training College of Teachers of the Deaf and Oral School."<sup>2</sup> The Board agreed

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1. Nevertheless one of the Sisters from Smyllum Orphanage did obtain a 1st Class Diploma from Fitzroy Square in 1882. It does not seem, however, that she did her training there, but only sat the examination as an external candidate.

2. Greenock Burgh School Board Minutes May 1896 No.1.



in principle to this suggestion and thereupon the matter was taken up very thoroughly. A scheme of instruction for the students was drawn up in which, after making due allowance for practical teaching, three hours per week were to be devoted to the study of specific subjects such as "Articulation and Intuitive Method of Language Teaching, History and Principles of Education, Anatomy of the Organs of the Special Sense, and Anatomy and Physiology of the Organs of Speech".<sup>1</sup> By whom this instruction was to be given was not stated although presumably it would be largely in the hands of Miss Fisher, the headmistress of the school. As to the number of students who could be trained there was considerable divergence of opinion. Eight was suggested, but finally it was agreed that four would be enough. By this time there were only three students in training so that an additional pupil was solicited. Unfortunately, having reached this most interesting stage, the scheme seems to have been abandoned. Perhaps the School Board felt that this was a greater problem than they had originally envisaged, perhaps they received hints that the scheme might not be acceptable outside the Burgh; but whatever the reasons for the abandonment, the conception was at least imaginative and indicated the desire of at least one authority to tackle a problem, upon the solution of which depended the whole future of the education of deaf children.

It was clear that such a haphazard method of training teachers could not continue indefinitely. Not only was the lack of adequately trained teachers hampering the work of schools, but, in addition, it was reflecting unfavourably upon the status of the teachers themselves. The conditions of service showed little improvement on those obtaining in the first half of the century. Thus, to quote the position at

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1.      ibid No.9.



Donaldson's Hospital again, the staff were required to come back during the summer holidays for the purpose of looking after the very few children who did not leave the Hospital at vacation times, and also to supervise the work of the servants. Not until 1892 were their fares paid for this purpose, and, although a further protest was made against the practice in 1897, no action was taken until 1906 when the custom was abolished. At practically every residential institution all the teaching staff were required to be in residence, and the practice of allowing teachers to live out upon marriage was only granted in certain cases as a favour and not as a right. As late as 1897 the Scottish Branch of the National Association of Teachers of the Deaf drew up a scheme to "enable Teachers of the Deaf, resident in institutions, to obtain the privilege of living outside Institution Buildings".<sup>1</sup>

Nor was there a scale for salaries. Each school paid its own rate and increases were dependent upon a favourable report from the Headmaster, whilst in the case of day schools under School Boards the Head usually had to petition the Board for an increase in the salary either of herself or her assistants. Haycock relates<sup>2</sup> that in 1889, after four years service with a 1st Class Diploma of the College of Teachers of the Deaf, he was receiving £18 a year, whilst in the same year he went to the Edinburgh Institution as second master at a salary of £45 per annum. On the other hand, the first assistant at Donaldson's Hospital in 1876 was receiving £120 plus £40 in lieu of board( he had been granted the privilege of non-residence) after 18

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1. "Quarterly Review of Deaf-Mute Education" Vol 4 p.314.

2. Haycock: "Address on the Education of the Deaf" (1927) p.8.

years service. In 1907 the Headmistress of the Aberdeen school was receiving £135 per annum plus a rent-free house.

Such widespread discrepancies in salary as well as the considerable variety in conditions of service were a natural corollary of the different types of persons recruited to the work, the casual nature of their training, if any, and the lack of any professional standard or qualification. To remedy such matters, the teachers of the deaf, both in Scotland and England banded themselves together, and in 1887, the College of Teachers of the Deaf and Dumb was formed. This may be regarded as a British rather than an English association, for two of the founder members were Scots headmasters, whilst other Scottish teachers joined the ranks as they qualified for membership. The main objects of the College were:<sup>1</sup>

1. To endeavour to raise the status of Teachers of the Deaf.
2. to give them an opportunity of submitting their qualifications to the scrutiny and judgement of an accredited body so that upon proof of fitness for their work they may receive a certificate of competency.
3. to raise the tone and character of the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb generally to a point as nearly as possible on a level with ordinary education.
4. to assist in and encourage the Training of Teachers of the Deaf and Dumb.

Membership of the College was open to those who passed the examination and by 1891 had grown to 140, or two-thirds of the number of teachers in the schools.<sup>2</sup> In order that Scottish candidates should have equal facilities for becoming members, examinations were frequently held in Edinburgh as well as in London. This was a most praiseworthy effort on the part of the teachers to create a professional standard for the members of their profession. The keenness with which teachers of long standing, as well as newcomers, prepared themselves for the examinations

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1. Articles of Association of the College of Teachers of the Deaf and Dumb (1887) para 3 sects. a, b, c, & c.

2. Annual Report of College of Teachers of the Deaf and Dumb (1891) p.3.



is an indication of how desirable it was considered to be to try to achieve the aims which had been set forth.

However, it was necessary to have such a qualification (i.e. Membership of the College) recognised by employing authorities or the central controlling authority. Unless this were done it would mean that a local authority (or voluntary committee) could employ anyone on their staff whether or not that person was suitably qualified. Clearly, neither the status nor the bargaining power (in respect of conditions and salaries) could be raised to a higher level if the employing authority could choose whomsoever it pleased irrespective of their fitness for the work.

The Scottish Education Department, however, were unwilling to recognise this Diploma as a proof that the holder was adequately trained and therefore worthy of recognition as a qualified teacher of the deaf. Their main objection was the fact that they had no say either in the appointment of examiners or in the syllabus laid down for examination. Nor were they at all anxious to recognise as Certificated Teachers those men or women who had given a considerable period of successful service in a school for the deaf, although they had received no initial or official training.

Although in 1905, Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers were established, no move was made to provide for the adequate training of teachers of the deaf. It is true that some of the latter took the Elementary Teachers Certificate, but this was not deemed to be in any way adequate for the work they were called upon to do, and, although the Department had been petitioned again in 1904, nothing was done in the matter. Addison summarised the existing state of affairs in 1906 when he reported<sup>1</sup> that "there was no proper system or method of training teachers". He went on to state that the plan he

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1. At Congress of British Deaf and Dumb Association. Quoted in "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol.4. p.174.

adopted was "to catch my teachers young, about 16 years of age, and put them into the institution to live amongst the boys and girls they are going to teach, because I think that by their mixing with the deaf and dumb in school and out of school, they acquire a knowledge of the idiosyncracies of the deaf and dumb, and that knowledge cannot be obtained if they go to work later. But the difficulty of the system is that when my boys and girls have a certain amount of training as pupil teachers, I have no place to send them where they can get a wider culture and knowledge of methods which is essential if they are to make first-class teachers".

However, although there was no official method of training in Scotland, and, although the Department did not recognize the external qualification, in point of fact 59% of the teachers in Scotland in 1907 were qualified in one way or another.<sup>1</sup> Of the 29 qualified teachers mentioned, 20 had the Diploma of the College of Teachers of the Deaf,<sup>6</sup> had ordinary teachers certificates, 2 had the Certificate of the Fitzroy Square Training College, and 1 had the Certificate of the Ealing Training College.

In 1895 was formed the National Association of Teachers of the Deaf. This body, which had no connection with the College of Teachers of the Deaf and Dumb, was instituted with the following objects in view:

- "(a) to further the cause of the Education of the Deaf;
- (b) to afford opportunities for the discussion of Professional and Educational topics;
- (c) to promote the Professional Interests of Teachers;
- (d) to arrange for holding biennial conferences;
- (e) to render advice and assistance to Members in connection with their work;
- (f) to form a Register of Teachers and Appointments open to them.<sup>2</sup>"

All teachers of the deaf were eligible for membership.

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1. Figures given for each school in "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol.5. p.12  
(Those do not include Ayr and Smyllum)

2. Rule 2 of the Association. v. Annual Reports of the N.A.T.D.  
1898-1900.



On the 12th December 1896 a Scottish Branch was formed, but on the application of the Irish teachers for admission to the Scottish Branch in 1899, the name was changed to the Scoto-Irish Branch on Sept 16th. of that year.<sup>1</sup> The first biennial conference of the Association was held in Glasgow in 1897. The following year a "Braidwood Medal" Competition was instituted, as well as the formation of the "Arnold Library" both of which had the aims of encouraging a spirit of research amongst the teachers of the deaf. The above-named professional association of teachers of the deaf in Scotland has done much to raise the status of the profession in Scotland. Their efforts, of course, have by no means been confined to improving their own lot, but it is only this aspect of their work with which we are concerned in this chapter. Other aspects will appear incidentally elsewhere.

In the summer of 1909 the Branch sought, and obtained, an interview with Sir John Struthers at the Scottish Education Department. Their aim was to get the Diploma of the Joint Examination Board<sup>2</sup> recognised by the Department. Once again the Department refused to accept such a proposal but suggested that the Branch might formulate a scheme for training which would be applicable to Scottish candidates. This the Branch did, and after discussing <sup>it</sup> with the

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1. In January 1918 the College of Teachers of the Deaf amalgamated with the National Association of Teachers of the Deaf to form the National College of Teachers of the Deaf.
  2. At the beginning of the century there were three bodies which, conducting separate examinations, issued separate Diplomas. These were the two Training Colleges and the College of Teachers of the Deaf. In 1902 a scheme was set on foot to form a Joint Examination Board which would examine and certify all entrants to the profession, wherever they might have been trained. It was not, however, until 1907 that the three parties concerned were able to agree on a scheme, but in that year the Joint Examination Board was formed. It held its first examination in 1908 and in the following year the Diploma which it issued was made by the English Board of Education a compulsory qualification for all teachers of the deaf.

managers of all the schools for the deaf in the country, they put it before the Department. The scheme was agreed to by the Department early in 1911 so that for the future the teachers of the deaf were put on the same basis as other teachers as regards recognition, pension rights, &c.<sup>1</sup> Under the new regulations candidates were no longer required to take the Junior Student Course. Instead, they were required to obtain the Intermediate Certificate; to attend a school for the deaf for two years, where they would follow a course of instruction and training which provided for further study and practical teaching; thereafter they could be admitted to a Special Course at a Training College, which would extend over a period of three years and provide special instruction in subjects such as Speech Teaching &c. In addition it was agreed that persons who had no reasonable opportunity of qualifying under these regulations, and who had served with success in a school for the deaf for not less than three years, might be recognised by the Department as Certificated Teachers of the Deaf.

Under Art. 55 of the Regulations for the Training of Teachers it was laid down that it should be the duty of the Provincial Committees to establish from time to time and as occasion might require, at suitable centres within their districts, courses for the further instruction of teachers in actual service. These courses might be either in subjects of general education or in methods of teaching particular subjects.

The powers granted to the Provincial Committees under these regulations were taken advantage of by the Edinburgh Provincial Committee. A course of instruction for teachers of the deaf in the Edinburgh area was drawn up for the first time in the year 1913.

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1. v. Minutes of the Scoto-Irish Branch of the N.A.T.D.  
Sept. 18, 1909, May, 1910, and May 1911.



This consisted of:- <sup>1.</sup>

1. Preparatory teaching of language (English) to the deaf child.
2. Methods of teaching (general)
3. Methods of teaching English to normal children.
4. Method of teaching Speech to deaf children, combined with a study of the vocal organs and the ear.
5. History of deaf-mute education.

The instruction for subjects for 1, 4 & 5 was in the hands of Young, the head of Donaldson's deaf department, and, for 2 and 3, the staff of the Provincial Committee. It was promised that on satisfactory completion of the course a certificate would be granted which would be endorsed by the Scottish Education Department.

None of the other Provincial Committees took advantage of this opportunity to train their own teachers, although in the winter of 1918-19 the Glasgow Provincial Committee organised a series of 48 lectures for the teachers of the deaf in their area. These consisted of 12 lectures on the Teaching of Articulation, 12 on the Teaching of Language, 12 on the Principles of Education and Elementary Psychology, 6 on the Ear, Nose, and Throat, and 6 on the History of Deaf Education.<sup>2</sup>

Naturally enough the war of 1914-18 had a most grave effect upon the supply of teachers of the deaf, as it had upon the supply of all teachers. A considerable proportion of the men entered the services, whilst the number of new entrants to the profession was extremely meagre. In 1914 the question of establishing a National Training College for teachers of the deaf, to serve both Scotland and England, had been mooted, but the outbreak of war had deferred the realisation of all hopes of the project.

Nevertheless such a plan was nearer fruition than most people realised. In 1912 the two training colleges of Fitzroy Square and Ealing had been amalgamated, the work continuing at the former, and

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1. Quoted in the "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol. 11 p.54.

2.       ibid               Vol. 17 p.155.



in 1919, owing to the generosity of Sir James E. Jones of Rochdale, it was possible to open a Department for the Training of Teachers of the Deaf at the University of Manchester, within the Faculty of Education. The College at Fitzroy Square was closed down<sup>and</sup> the students transferred to Manchester, so that there was now one training department for the whole of the country. Fortunately, the Scottish Education Department was in full agreement with the scheme, and, realising that the number of teachers required annually for Scotland was such as to make a separate training department for that country uneconomical, agreed to recognise the Certificate issued by Manchester University upon satisfactory completion of the course in the new department. Although the Scottish Education Department was not represented on the Committee appointed to advise on the work of the department, the Scottish schools were invited to send one representative from amongst their principals.

In 1924 the training of teachers of the deaf in Scotland was brought within the general framework of the training of teachers. The regulations of 1911 were consolidated along with the training being given at Manchester University and combined into a scheme for training and certification which, although leaving the methods of training to the National Committee (created in 1920), retained in the hands of the Department the sole right of recognition. Thus, under Chap.3 Art. 32 (b) of the "Regulations for Preliminary Education, Training, and Certification of Teachers",<sup>1</sup> it was laid down that "It shall be within the power of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers, with the approval of the Department, to provide at their own training centres, or elsewhere, special courses of training for those who are already 'Certificated Teachers',<sup>\*</sup> to fit them for service as teachers of the Deaf, and on the satisfactory completion of such courses recognition may be granted to such teachers as

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1. "Statutory Rules and Orders 1924 No. 791 S. 61 .



**Text cut off in original**

'Certificated Teachers of the Deaf,' subject to the successful completion of a period of probationary service in a recognised school for the Deaf, normally extending over two years. +

\*Students in training who are not yet 'Certificated Teachers' and other teachers who have displayed special aptitude as teachers of the Deaf may also, with the consent of the Department, be admitted to special courses provided under this Article on such conditions as may be approved.

+Persons who have had no reasonable opportunity of qualifying under the Article, but who have served with success as teachers of the Deaf for not less than three years in Schools or Institutions under the Inspection of the Department, or approved by the Department for this purpose, and are fully competent to have the sole and responsible charge of the Education of Deaf Children may, subject to the conditions of Article 34 as to age and physical capacity, be recognised by the Department as 'Certified Teachers of the Deaf.'

This, in effect, meant that Certificated Teachers, or those whom the Department would recognise as such under the first footnote, had to receive training either in a Provincial Centre or at Manchester University. As the National Committee did not desire to open a centre, the latter alternative became the sole choice. Although the National Committee paid the tuition fees of students who took this course, the matter of maintenance grants was rather a thorny one. The Glasgow Education Committee and the Directors of the Edinburgh Institution paid their teachers half salary whilst on the course, but there was no specific ruling as to procedure. In an interview with Haycock<sup>1</sup> (Secretary of the Scoto-Irish Branch) representatives of the Department made it clear that they considered that local authorities and voluntary committees should make it worth the teacher's while to take this course, but this, of course, could in no way be regarded as an official ruling.

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1. v. "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol. 23 pp 157 et seq.



The second footnote to the Article was viewed with considerable dismay by the teachers. Although perhaps valuable as a safeguard ten to fifteen years previously, they felt that it was a retrograde step to have it incorporated at this time when there was ample opportunity for teachers to become qualified in the normal way. At a meeting of the Scoto-Irish Branch on 19th Sept. 1925, a resolution was passed that this footnote should either be "ignored or withdrawn by the Department",<sup>1</sup> and a copy was sent to all the managers of schools and local education authorities.

Another problem which was peculiar to teachers of the deaf was that of reciprocity of qualifications in Scotland and England. With such teachers there was a considerable degree of interchange owing to the relatively small number of schools. Thus it had long been the practice of teachers of the deaf to move from Scotland to England or vice versa. No bar had been placed upon such movement, but when the respective education departments of the two countries began to differ considerably in the training and qualifications which they demanded of their teachers, considerable curtailment of such transferences became necessary. Feeling that this movement was not only of value to the persons concerned, but to the profession as a whole, the teachers' associations on both sides of the border took up the matter with their respective education departments.

The matter seems first to have received attention at the Annual Meeting of the National College of Teachers of the Deaf in London in 1919 where it was proposed that service both in Scotland and England should count as qualifying service for pension purposes, but in the following year the Board of Education refused to recognize

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1. v. Minutes of the Branch for date cit.



teachers of the deaf holding only the Scottish Certificate. It has already been noted that as early as fifteen years previously the Scottish Education Department had refused to recognize the Diploma of the Joint Examination Board as a qualification. However, the Superannuation Acts of 1924-5 removed many of the disabilities. The main difficulties remaining were that the English Board of Education recognized certain categories of teachers not so recognized by the Scottish Education Department, and that they did not demand the same academic preparation for like categories of teachers.

By 1926 most of the difficulties had been removed: recorded service in England was recognised for pension purposes in Scotland, and non-college trained certificated teachers coming from England were given special consideration by the Scottish Education Department upon application by the managers of schools to which they were appointed. Recorded service in either country is now aggregated to satisfy the minimum requirements qualifying for benefit and each country pays benefit in respect of years of pensionable service in that country.

In the matter of superannuation recognised teachers of the deaf were placed on the same footing as other teachers. They also come under the same basic salary scales and when the Teviot Scales were introduced teachers of the deaf were given an appropriate special increment to the basic scale. This increment, although laid down officially in the scales, may be exceeded if the managers think fit, and as there has been no universal policy in regard to this, discrepancies may still be found in salaries in different parts of the country.

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CHAPTER 9.MODERN DEVELOPMENTS (1939-49).

Although this survey was planned to end with the outbreak of war in 1939, it is felt that a brief review of subsequent events together with a summary of the outstanding problems would be of value.

The first, and most important, event after the outbreak of war in September 1939 was evacuation. In all the residential schools, there was an immediate dislocation of work, and this was followed, in most cases, by the evacuation of the children to other, and supposedly, safer areas. Thus, Donaldson's School sent its Edinburgh children immediately to Dunglass House in East Lothian. About two months later this became the home of the senior department, and the junior department, which consisted of the pupils who would have been in residence at Henderson Row, was opened at Redcroft Hotel in North Berwick. The school remained in these two areas until 1946. The Glasgow School for the Deaf moved to Dalquharran Castle, near Dailly in Ayrshire in October, where it, too, remained until 1946. The Day School and Institution at Dundee were evacuated to Belmont Castle, Meigle, Perthshire, and there some residential pupils remained until 1947, although the Day School was re-opened in 1940. Aberdeen School was not evacuated at all, but remained closed from September 4th. 1939 until January 8th. 1940.

The position regarding the day schools varied enormously from place to place, and only in the case of the Glasgow schools was there any evacuation. At Greenock the school re-opened after a few days break, but the attendances were poor owing to numerous 'alerts', and shorter hours were worked because of transport difficulties. After a heavy raid on Greenock in May 1941, the school was closed for two weeks. At Paisley, the school re-opened on the 10th November and remained in session throughout the war, although here again the hours



worked were short (9-30 am. until 2-45 pm) and attendances were rather poor. Hamilton School remained closed until January 1941 (owing to the fact that the building had been requisitioned by the military authorities) but after the middle of October 1939, two of the teachers arranged to visit three centres which were readily accessible (Hamilton, Burnbank, and Wishaw) where the local children attended for instruction daily. No pupils attended the Milton Special School, Dunbartonshire after September 4th, but two months later the teachers began home visitation where a modified programme of instruction was given. In January 1940 eleven deaf pupils were admitted to a special class at the Old Academy, Dumbarton.

The position in Glasgow was somewhat confusing. The children from Renfrew Street Special School were evacuated to Maybole, in Ayrshire, in October, and with them went 22 children from the Ibrox classes. However, on September 2nd, 1940, some classes were resumed at Renfrew Street. Two separate sessions were held, the partially deaf children on the roll of Renfrew Street attending in the morning, and Glasgow children formerly on the roll of the Langside School and also the children from the Ibrox classes attending in the afternoon. In January 1941 the ex-day pupils of Langside School formed a class at Langside Public School. Finally in September 1942 the pupils of Renfrew Street, who had remained at Maybole under the evacuation scheme, returned to Glasgow, and Renfrew Street once more began to operate as before the War.

These details will indicate with what difficulty the education of the deaf was carried on during the war years. For some periods, in some places, no education was being given whatsoever, whilst by the end of 1940 the number of Children who were receiving education had dropped by about 18%.<sup>1</sup> Nor was this the complete extent of the disaster. Standards of education were very much lowered both in the

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schools which were evacuated and in those which were not. In the former, shorter working hours, greater fatigue through broken hours of sleep occasioned by air-raid warnings, and sometimes complete interruption of studies, all militated against the best possible results being obtained. In the latter, whilst it was sometimes true that the children benefitted physically through living in healthier surroundings, and whilst the curriculum was on occasion liberated from the discipline of classroom walls, yet the, generally, cramped and unsuitable buildings prevented the education reaching anything like a normal standard. Furthermore, these same conditions prevented the normal intake of new entrants to the schools, so that there was an ever-increasing number of children up and down the country whose education was being delayed.

Such was the result of war-time conditions on the education of the deaf in Scotland, and they brought three major problems in their train. The first was that developments (such as the Donaldson Trust Scheme) were delayed for at least ten years; secondly there quickly accumulated an alarming number of children who were not being educated;<sup>1</sup> and thirdly a whole generation of children were leaving the schools whose education had been of an inferior quality. Of these three problems, the third cannot be rectified, the second is still causing a great deal of difficulty, and the first requires energetic and immediate action if proper progress is to be made.

The second major event to be recorded in this period is the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945. Coming after the somewhat gloomy events already chronicled, it presents a happy and encouraging contrast. The main feature of this Act is that, for the

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1. In 1947 it was reported by the Secretary of the Scottish Assn. for the Deaf that there were 121 deaf children of school age in Scotland not being educated. (Minutes of Scoto-Irish Branch of N.C.T.D. Vol.3. March 1947).



first time, deaf children are brought within the general, national framework of education. They are no longer considered as a class apart but are required, with all other children, to be provided with an "efficient" education, suited to their "age, ability, and aptitude". As a consequence of this, the powers and duties of Local Authorities in relation to deaf children are now as extensive as in the case of normal children. The Act of 1890, which had been amended by subsequent education acts was finally repealed, and the new Act became the legal authority for all action in connection with the education of deaf children. Primary, Secondary, and Further Education, which was made compulsory for all children under the Act, was also to apply to the special educational treatment given to deaf children. Primary, which included the Nursery stage, and Secondary, were immediately applicable, but Further Education was to be postponed until satisfactory arrangements had been made for its introduction. The age limits were redefined as from 2 to 5, permissive, 5 to 16, compulsory, and 16 to 18, compulsory after the scheme for Further Education had been inaugurated. This latter might consist of full-time special education either of a vocational or general nature, or part-time education at a County College.

The costs of maintenance of pupils who had been sent to special residential schools, along with travelling expenses were not in future to be recoverable from parents.

It was also laid down that it was the duty of Local Authorities to ascertain what children in their area, who had attained the age of 5, required special educational treatment, whilst, in addition, it was also their duty to comply with the request of a parent, whose child had reached the age of two years, for the medical examination of that child.



Finally, a duty was laid upon Education Authorities to disseminate information as to the educational importance to any child suffering from a disability, of the early ascertainment of that disability.

The Act has been criticised, in regard to the education of deaf children, as "vague and indefinite",<sup>1</sup> but it is difficult to see how such a general measure could be more specific in dealing with one specialised aspect of education. It is true that the deaf are scarcely mentioned, but their needs have been fairly well considered, and the importance lies more in the interpretation put on the Act by Local Authorities than in the Act itself. So far this has been reasonable enough, although much remains to be done, for example, in the matter of ascertainment, whilst the measures concerning Further Education have not, of course, as yet been implemented.

Some of the changes which had been taking place during this period in connection with certain schools require a brief mention here. The War, as it has already been pointed out, had prevented the implementation of the Donaldson Trust Scheme. The two departments of the school had been evacuated separately and when they returned to Edinburgh, they returned to their former homes. No further attempts have as yet been made to put into operation the terms of the Scheme.

The Dundee Institute for the Deaf ceased to educate its children after 1947. During the war they had been evacuated to Belmont Castle, and, in 1947, 22 children returned to Dundee when, by arrangement with Education Committee, they attended the Day School. The old institution has since been used as a hostel where the pupils of the Institution continue to reside, but they attend the Dundee Day School as day scholars.

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1. By D.L. McIntosh in "Teacher of the Deaf" Vol 42. p.163.



After the return of the Partially Deaf School to Renfrew Street in 1942 the Ibrox classes were discontinued and pupils and staff of that school were transferred to the former. In 1943, classes for young deaf children were begun at Centre Street. Prior to this, young deaf children had been attending a special class held at Hillington Public School on two days a week, but in September 1943 it was transferred to Centre Street where it became the nucleus of a full-time Nursery and Infant School. All young children of Glasgow with defective hearing are now sent there from the age of 3, and at the age of 7 are transferred either to the school for the Deaf or Renfrew Street Special School according to their classification. At present there are 38 children on the roll with five of a staff.

When the School for the Deaf returned from Dailly in 1946, the old buildings at Langside were found to be uninhabitable and the school was accommodated at Gilsochhill, in the district of Maryhill.

In 1945 negotiations were begun for the unification of the two schools existing under separate authorities in St. Vincents' Roman Catholic School at Tollcross. Agreement was finally reached in 1947 and Glasgow Education Committee became responsible for the whole school.

In 1945 classes were begun for Stirlingshire children in Dawson Park Special School at Falkirk. This school catered for all types of handicapped children, and the two classes for deaf children are staffed by qualified teachers of the deaf, who are, of course, responsible to the headmistress in charge of the school. The school admits both deaf and partially deaf children, and only caters for day pupils, so that children from outlying parts of the county have still to be sent to residential schools elsewhere.

With regard to partially deaf children, some improvement in the existing provision for separate special educational treatment was made



in 1941 when the Edinburgh Education Committee began a special class in Castlehill School. This was a direct outcome of the pre-war testing of school children, and regular audiometric surveys were continued. The class soon grew into a school, and, after a period spent in Polwarth Terrace, the school, which became known as St. Giles School, moved into permanent quarters at Merchiston Castle in 1945. The type of children for whom it catered were described as hard of hearing and it was estimated that there might be 300 of these to be provided for. Accommodation for about a third of this number was provided and plans were made for three and five year secondary courses for the post-primary pupils. The school has at present 100 pupils on the roll.

Apart from this annual audiometric survey of the whole school population of Edinburgh, given at two and even three different age-levels, other attempts to estimate the incidence of defective hearing have been sporadic. Dr. J.A. Grant Keddie of the Department of Health for Scotland made a survey in Berwickshire in 1946 and basing his conclusions on these and the Edinburgh figures, estimated that the incidence of Grade IIB pupils in the general school population (that is those who required full-time education in a school for the partially deaf) was 5 per thousand. As this was ten times the number suggested by the Committee of Enquiry in 1938, it is clear that these figures require verification from other sources. His estimate of Grade III children (.67 per thousand) however, is almost identical with that of the 1938 Committee (.7 per thousand) and this figure seems to be fairly widely accepted. In 1945 an audiometric survey of 2,000 specially selected cases was made in Dundee, but the figures obtained from this are not helpful as these cases were either already suspected of deafness, or had a history of ear trouble, or were educationally



retarded. Glasgow Education Committee instituted an Audiometric Survey in the session 1948-9 when all 10-year old children were tested by a gramophone audiometer... A further survey at the 8-year old level is to be made in the session 1949-50. Results of this survey have not yet been published.

In connection with the Training of Teachers of Hard of Hearing Children, a scheme was put forward in 1947 by the headmaster of St. Giles School and discussed by the Education Committee of the Educational Institute of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> This suggested a shortened course of 3 months duration, since the full qualification as teacher of the deaf was unnecessary for this work. The scheme was, however, deferred until more precise figures of incidence could be obtained, and the extent of the problem accurately gauged.

During the war, the Scoto-Irish Branch of the N.C.T.D., realising that many improvements could be made in the existing arrangements for the education of deaf children, occupied itself by planning a post-war reconstruction policy. This was published, in 1943, as an Addendum to the Memorandum drawn up by the Executive Committee of the N.C.T.D. Its main proposals were:-<sup>2</sup>

1. Ascertainment: A responsible teacher of the deaf should be associated with the aurist in deciding the allocation of children to schools.
2. Nursery Schools: There was a need for adequate nursery schools for deaf children under 5.
3. There should be a scheme of regionalisation to permit of efficient classification, i.e., each primary school should contain 150 to 200 children, and there should be further primary schools for each 200 to 400 Grade 2B children.
4. There should be a secondary school and a technical institute to serve all Grades of IIB and III children, or provision should be made for sending them to appropriate English centres.
5. How grade children should be educated either in a separate school in Scotland, or to a school catering for this type in England.

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1. Minutes of Scoto-Irish Branch of N.C.T.D. Vol.3. Nov. 1947.  
 2. "Addendum to the Memorandum of the National College of Teachers of the Deaf, prepared by the Scoto-Irish Branch of the College"(1943)



6. Head teachers and staffs should be qualified teachers of the deaf, and salary scales should be improved. Adequate payments on a standardized hourly scale should be made for out-of-school supervision.
7. Existing schools were out-of-date, and new schools on the cottage home principle should be established, preferably in country districts within easy reach of towns.

Presumably the plan of the Branch was to attempt to get various local authorities and managers of schools to act upon the appropriate proposals, whilst others would, of course, require fresh legislation. A glorious opportunity, however, was presented in February 1947 when the Secretary of State gave a remit to the newly appointed Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, to enquire into the Education of handicapped children, which included deaf children. The Branch immediately decided that it would be opportune to place its views before the Council and prepared a Report for this purpose. This Report<sup>1</sup> was a most comprehensive document, dealing with every aspect of deaf education in Scotland, including ascertainment, regionalisation, methods of education, provision of hearing-aids, out-of-school activities, further education and vocational training, school buildings, and the recruitment and training of teachers.

Taking these briefly in turn, the suggestions in connection with ascertainment put forward proposals for the establishment of clinics where pre-school children might be tested and their educational needs catered for as soon as possible, and also for regular routine audiometric testing of school children on a regional basis. With regard to regionalisation it was pointed out that, under existing arrangements, 55 % of the Protestant Grade III Deaf Children were being educated at two schools (Donaldsons and the Glasgow School for the Deaf), whilst the remaining 45 % were divided, unequally, amongst the eight remaining schools or classes. In order, therefore, to secure the maximum benefits

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1. "The Education of the Deaf in Scotland" A survey prepared.....for submission to the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland.  
(Sept. 1947)



of classification, it was suggested that all Protestant Grade III children should be educated in the two large schools already mentioned, although a third might be added for the benefit of the children from the North. The Catholic children would still attend St. Vincents' as at present. This would then free the smaller schools for the needs of the partially deaf children, although of course, their number would probably require to be added to when the full extent of the problem was known. The Branch found support for this plan in the Scottish Advisory Council's Report on "Primary Education" (1947) where it was stated<sup>1</sup> that "..... certain services must be operated on a national basis, and under unified supervision. Among such services we would mention, though not exclusively, those for the education of the blind and deaf....." After outlining something of the curriculum in schools for the deaf and stressing the need for a new orientation along the lines of the "Primary Report", it went on to point out the advantages and disadvantages of the different methods of instruction concluding with an affirmation of its belief in oralism and and indictment of fingerspelling which, because of its association with signs, militated against the educational progress of the deaf child. In connection with hearing aids it suggested that individual ones be supplied to all IIB children who could benefit from their use, whilst group hearing aids should be supplied for the use of Grade III children in the ratio of not less than one per three classes in the school. These required the provision of sound-proofed rooms for the optimum results to be obtained.

The provision for out-of-school activities in day schools was criticised as being inadequate, whilst, although residential schools

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1. para 436.



were much better equipped for this, much could be done to improve conditions to make them approximate more to the normal home life of children. The supervision of such activities was best left in the hands of the teaching staff who, however, should receive adequate remuneration for this and, where resident, much better quarters.

After a careful consideration of the numbers involved, it was suggested that for the further education to be provided in County Colleges, it would be best to send the Scottish Grade III children to England where there could be a National County College for these children. A separate County College for the Grade IIB children of Scotland would probably be worth while<sup>1</sup> and this could be set up as an autonomous unit attached to a normal County College. Suggestions were also made concerning the curriculum that might be followed at this stage. With regard to vocational training, after outlining the existing schemes which catered for about 40 trainees, the report suggested a Vocational Training School for the county which would operate with the approbation and co-operation of the Trade Unions. At the same time, it was suggested that failing the provision of some scheme for the Higher Education of the Deaf in Scotland, full use should be made of the facilities for this which existed in England.

Existing school buildings were condemned as unsatisfactory, and it was suggested that they be abandoned and fresh sites sought in suburban or semi-rural areas where there should be a central school block surrounded by residences for the children on the "cottage-home" principle.

Finally, the paucity of the number of new entrants to the profession was viewed with some alarm, and, possible causes for this having been outlined, it was suggested that by closer co-operation between the schools for the deaf and ordinary schools and training colleges, and by the creation of more posts of special responsibility and improved conditions, this difficulty might be overcome. The

<sup>1</sup> It was estimated that there were 2 Grade IIB children in Scotland.

**Text cut off in original**



existing system where Scottish students were sent to Manchester University for training was approved and no change was suggested for the immediate future.

This survey has been considered by the Advisory Council, who have also visited schools and examined witnesses. Their report has been submitted to the Secretary of State, but, unfortunately, has not as yet been published.

What of the future ? Much will depend on the recommendations made by the Advisory Council and, of course, such of them as are accepted by the Secretary of State. However, the writer may perhaps here be permitted to express his personal opinions as to what constitute the greatest needs of the times.

The first of these would be the need to ensure that every child suffering from defective hearing receives the special educational treatment which he requires, at as early an age as possible, and that a sufficiency of clinics be set up so that parents from any part of the country may be able to attend with their children in order that the latter may have their hearing tested and the former receive guidance in the appropriate kind of pre-school training required. This early ascertainment and training are absolutely essential if the child is to attain the highest possible standards of which he is capable. Oralism is more than a method of instruction; it is a way of life, which entails a spontaneous use of speech because that has always been the accepted method of communication, and a reliance on lipreading because it has always been looked for. The optimum time for the development of this attitude is the time at which the normal child is developing his speech and language - that is, between the ages of one and three years. It should be pointed out that this is not idle theory,



but has been carried out in practice, time and time again, and the success of the results is a testimony to the efficacy of the approach.

As well as a need for early ascertainment, there is also a need that all school children should have their hearing tested, to ensure that they are not being handicapped educationally by a possible defect of this kind. Annual National audiometric surveys are required, probably at a fixed age-level, so that by the time a child reaches the age of, say eight, any defect of hearing will have been exposed, and if educational retardation has resulted from this, the child can be given appropriate special educational treatment.

This leads us on to the subject of classification. Whilst the 1938 Committee,<sup>1</sup> although suggesting the levels of hearing loss (as measured by an audiometer) for the different grades of deafness, laid stress on the fact that the hearing loss should not be the sole factor in coming to a decision as to the grade in which a child should be put, this latter aspect of the problem has tended to be under-emphasised. The real criterion as to whether a child is partially deaf or totally or severely deaf (that is, Grade IIB or Grade III) is whether or not that child has naturally acquired speech and language. This criterion is the one now recognised by the Ministry of Education in England,<sup>2</sup> and it is time that all medical authorities, education authorities, and teachers of the deaf in Scotland, indicated that they had a clear appreciation of this, for the educational needs of these two types of children are different. It would probably be best to abandon the old methods of grading, since they appear to have caused a considerable amount of confusion, and adopt a new method on the lines suggested above. Children could then be re-classified and sent to the

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1. V. Ante p. 225.

2. v. "Special Educational Treatment" Pamphlet No.5.(H.M.S.O.)  
1947.



appropriate school. Whilst the extent of the numbers of totally and severely deaf children, that is, those without naturally acquired speech or language, is fairly accurately known, the incidence being about .7 per thousand, the numbers of children with naturally acquired speech and language whose education is being retarded by a hearing loss of an extremely varying degree, is not. It has been estimated at varying amounts from .5 to 5 per thousand, and although the writer inclines more nearly to the former figure, there is not sufficient evidence for proof either way. Until a National audiometric survey is made, the full extent of the problem cannot be known, and therefore the amount of the provision that has to be made for such children will remain guesswork.

After this major problem of classification has been completed, there are also other aspects which have to be considered when dividing children into classes in a school. Apart from the obvious one of the age of the child, his intelligence and the age of onset of his deafness, as well as the extent of his hearing loss, have to be considered. There being thus so many factors to take into account, it is clear that, educationally, the larger the school the better, so that each class in the school will be composed of children whose educational attainments are as identical as possible. That being so, it would seem that the aforementioned proposals for the regionalisation of schools for the deaf in Scotland would have a very beneficial effect on the standard of education provided.

The educational measures already suggested affect, however, only the average children, and one of the immediate needs is to consider more adequately those children at the two extremes of the scale - the very bright and the educationally sub-normal deaf children. Sporadic attempts have been made in the past to do something for the



former, whilst at the moment they have access to the Mary Hare Grammar School for the Deaf in England.<sup>1</sup> Should this Grammar School be able to cater for the number of Scottish pupils requiring its services (probably up to 10 children who have not had naturally acquired speech and language, annually) then the continuance of the present arrangement is satisfactory, otherwise some provision will have to be made in Scotland. The numbers of very bright deaf or partially deaf children with naturally acquired speech and language who would require special provision made for them, is not, of course, known, but they are possibly enough to warrant the opening of a National Secondary Department attached to one of the schools for such children.

It is when we come to consider the educationally sub-normal deaf that we find the outlook most depressing. Although there are two schools for such children in England, we are not aware that any Scottish children have been sent there, and there is certainly no provision made for them in Scotland. Some action is urgently required in this matter and the provision of a National School is essential. At the moment they are to be found in ordinary classes in all schools in the country, where attempts are being to educate them by methods which are wholly unsuited to their needs, and where they are merely acting as a brake on the progress of the other pupils. In a National School for these pupils, there would be ample opportunity for experimenting with a suitable curriculum, in connection with which the approach now being made with similar hearing children might prove a suitable basis. Although it has been suggested that fingerspelling is the most suitable means of communication for such children, there is no reason to suppose that this is necessarily the case. It might well be, but before this opinion is accepted, a considerable amount of

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1. There are 4 Scottish pupils there.



experimental evidence is required.

Finally, we would urge the need for constant re-evaluation of the methods and approach in the schools. It is not suggested for a moment that these are wrong or even inferior, but without experiment, research, or fresh ideas, all teaching becomes moribund. In this connection, it might, for example, be advantageous to experiment further with hearing-aids. Acoustic training, urged by Kerr Love before the invention of the thermionic valve, has, by the latter, had immense possibilities opened up. Experimental work, in America for example, has proved that much help can be given by powerful hearing aids to profoundly deaf children who had hitherto been considered incapable of benefitting from their use. More work on these lines might with advantage, be undertaken in the Scottish schools. Similarly, it has been suggested that the main aim of education is to develop character. Are the schools paying too much attention to the development of speech and language, vital though these are to the deaf child, to the exclusion of the provision of that environment in which character can develop to its fullest extent ?

There are, of course, many other fruitful lines of investigation that might be followed in the schools, but perhaps enough has been said to indicate that this aspect of the education of deaf children is worthy of consideration.

Much has been achieved in the provision of educational facilities for the deaf children in Scotland since the days of Braidwood's Academy, but there is still much more to be done. Even yet there is no complete appreciation, on the part of the general public, of the full extent of the handicap of deafness, or of the needs of the deaf child, although of recent years there has been an increasingly widespread interest. Scotland has contributed in no

little measure to the successful development of this work, and there is every reason to believe that, as a result of present ideas and plans, she will have even more to give in the not far-distant future.

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APPENDIX A.LIST OF HEADMASTERS OF THE SCOTTISH  
INSTITUTIONS FOR THE DEAF.  

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ABERDEEN

1819-34 Robert Taylor  
 1834-41 Matthew R. Burns  
 1841-57 - Weir  
 1857-59 Robert Scott  
 1859-81 Franklin Bill  
 1881-1920 A. Pender  
 1920 - Amalgamated with Day School

DONALDSON'S HOSPITAL

1850-63 Angus McDiarmid  
 1863(Sept-Dec) Jas. Tait  
 1863-99 A. Large  
 1899-1909 John Brown  
 1909-1931 W. Young  
 1931 - G. Wilson

DUNDEE

1846-80 A. Drysdale  
 1880-1902 Jas. Barland  
 1902-39 R. Hansell  
 1939-47 Evacuated  
 1947 - Amalgamated with Day School

EDINBURGH

1810-11 John Braidwood  
 1811-47 R. Kinniburgh  
 1847-53 Jas. Cook  
 1853-61 Chas. Rhind  
 1861-75 W. Hutchinson  
 1875-85 Jas. Brydon  
 1885 B. T. Bensted  
 1885-1918 E. A. Illingworth  
 1918-30 J. S. Barker  
 1930 - G. A. Sutcliffe



GLASGOW

1819-22	John Anderson
1822-24	- Hadow
1824-27	T.J. Watson
1827-32	R. Kinniburgh (Junr)
1832-70	Duncan Anderson
1870-90	John Thomson
1891-1920	Dr. W.H. Addison
1920-23	Dr. Welsh
1923-35	G.S. Haycock
1935-48	D.L. McIntosh
1948 -	J.H. Pattison

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APPENDIX B.  
STATISTICAL RECORD OF PUPILS.

The following Table shows the number of pupils attending the different schools at ten-yearly intervals from 1810-1949. The later figures will, of course, include partially deaf as well as deaf pupils.

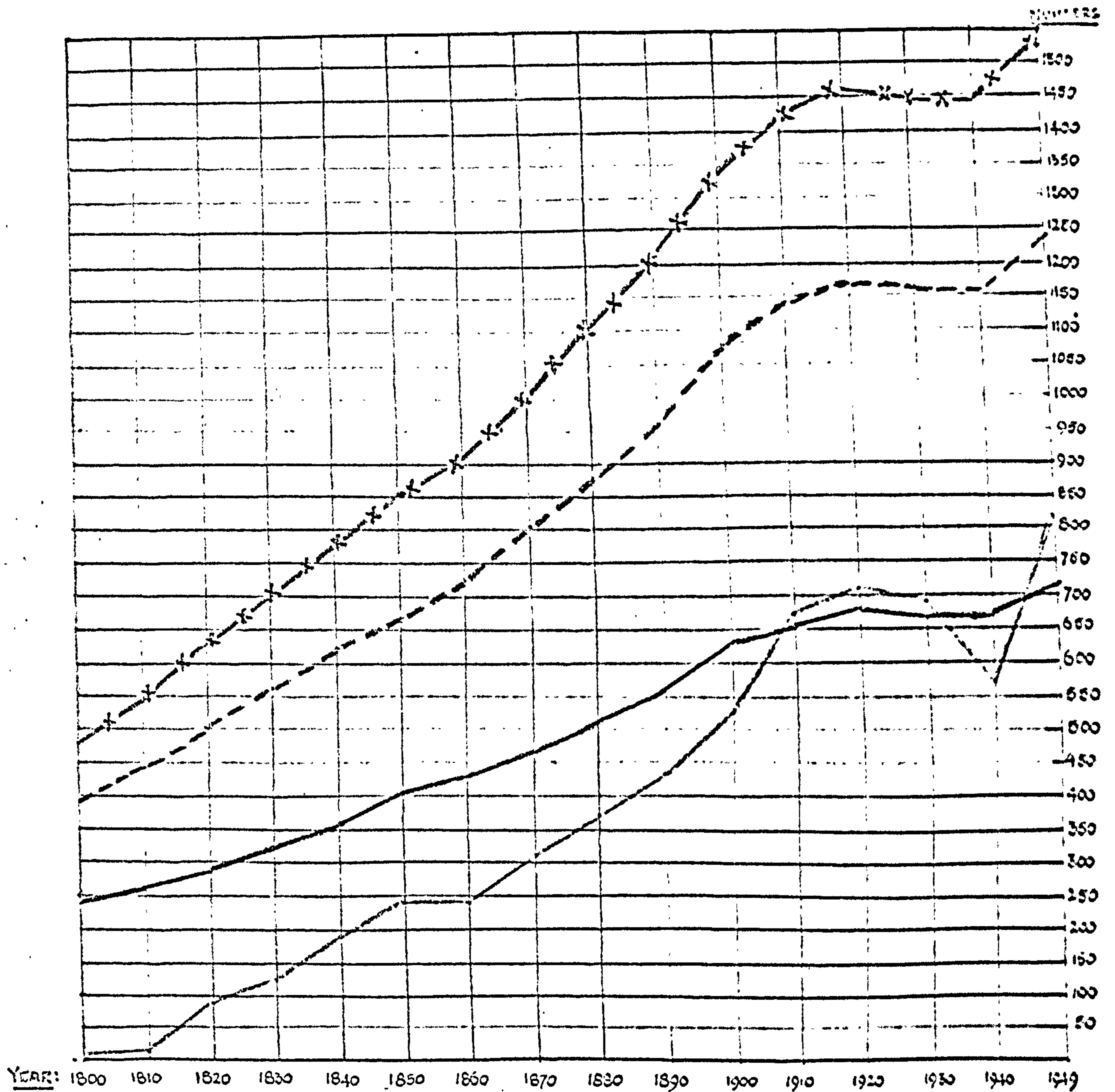
	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1949
ABERDEEN INSTITUTION	—	8	16	19	31	28 <sup>+</sup>	25 <sup>+</sup>	18	21	28	22 <sup>+</sup>	15 <sup>+</sup>	—	—	—
" DAY SCHOOL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	26	34	40	61
AYR	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	7	4	—	—	—
DUNBARTONSHIRE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	10	11	5
DUNDEE INSTITUTION	—	5 <sup>+</sup>	—	—	30	28 <sup>+</sup>	30 <sup>+</sup>	20 <sup>+</sup>	19	18	30	31	20	14	—
" DAY SCHOOL	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	22	30	40	50	40	56
EDINBURGH INSTITUTION	11	51	76	76	70	53	68	58	69	73	71	92	121	103	89
" DONALDSON'S	—	—	—	—	30	57	70	118	111	118	112 <sup>+</sup>	96	106	80	85
" DAY SCHOOL	—	—	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" ST. GILES	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
GLASGOW INSTITUTION	—	32	36	72	84	76	102	129	129	156	199	138	55	79	89
" RENFREW ST.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	50 <sup>+</sup>	73	35	7 <sup>+</sup>
" SMYLLUM & ST. VINCENT'S	—	—	—	—	—	3	15 <sup>+</sup>	27	45 <sup>+</sup>	60 <sup>+</sup>	90	105 <sup>+</sup>	120	100 <sup>+</sup>	172
" GOVAN & IBROX	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	11	16 <sup>+</sup>	32 <sup>+</sup>	26 <sup>+</sup>	23	—
" CENTRE ST.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	38
GREENOCK	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	20	27	20	21	19	14	12
HAMILTON	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30 <sup>+</sup>	35	20 <sup>+</sup>	34
PAISLEY	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	17	22	14	17	24
STIRLINGSHIRE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
TOTALS	11	96	128	197	245	245	310	374	438	533	675	709	692	576	815

<sup>+</sup> Figures marked thus are only approximate. Totals have not been so marked, although clearly any total containing an approximate number will itself be approximate also.



The following graphical representation of the number of children attending schools for the deaf and partially deaf children has been constructed from the above table. Set against the curve indicating the actual numbers of pupils, are curves indicating the number of children who ought to have been in attendance. These indicate (1) the number of congenitally totally deaf children who ought to have been in attendance, and is based on the incidence figure of .7 per thousand in conjunction with the estimated number of children of school age taken from the census tables, and (2) the total number of deaf and partially deaf children who ought to have been in attendance and schools taking the limits of the combined incidences between 1.2 and 1.5 per thousand (which are as low as they are likely to be).

( Graph on the following page)



- Actual number of Deaf and Partially Deaf children in attendance.
- Nos. of Deaf who should have been educated at .7 per thousand of school population.
- Nos. of Deaf and Partially Deaf who should have been educated at an incidence of 1.2 per thousand.
- ... Nos. of Deaf & Partially Deaf who should have been educated at an incidence of 1.5 per thousand.



APPENDIX C.LIST OF SCHOOLS IN 1949.

School for the Deaf, 14, Polmuir Road, Aberdeen.

Hartfield Junior Secondary School (deaf class attached)

Crosslet Road, Dumbarton.

School for the Deaf, Dudhope Terrace, Dundee.

Donaldson's (Junior) School for the Deaf,

54, Henderson Row, Edinburgh.

Donaldson's School for the Deaf, West Coates, Edinburgh.

St. Giles' School (for the Hard of Hearing)

Colinton Road, Edinburgh.

Dawson Park School for the Deaf, Bainsford, Falkirk.

Glasgow School for the Deaf, 40, Campbell Street,

Maryhill, Glasgow.

Centre Street Nursery School for the Deaf, Glasgow.

Renfrew Street Special School, 210, Renfrew Street, Glasgow.

St. Vincents' School for the Deaf, Tollcross, Glasgow.

Garvel School for the Deaf, 2, Finnart Street, Greenock.

Auchinraith School for the Deaf, Hamilton.

Gateside Special School for the Deaf, Paisley.

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